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WEEKLY PEOPLE

CONGRESSIONAL

THE MRS. MINOR MORRIS OUTRAGE BY ROOSEVELT'S SUBALTERNS.

On January 7, Mrs. Minor Morris, a lady who claimed that her husband, an officer in the army, had been unjustly treated and his case hung up indefinitely, sought an interview with the President. The lady was violently handled at the Executive office by the menials there in attendance; under their treatment, the lady fainted and was carried out "like a sack of salt," as an eye witness puts it, one of the porters holding her up by the heels, and she was literally thrown into a cab and taken to the House of Detention. The President's Assistant Secretary Barnes gave out a statement of the occurrence which the lady contradicted at all important points. His statement was to the effect that she had acted boisterously and had to be ejected forcibly. Mrs. Morris' statement is confirmed by impartial eye witnesses. The day after the disgraceful occurrence, Representative Morris Sheppard of Texas, introduced in the House a Resolution to investigate "the recent violent expulsion of an American mother from the White House." The Committee on Rules pigeon-holed the Resolution, whereupon on January 10, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Philippine tariff bill, Mr. Sheppard took the floor, despite Republican attempts to rule him off, and declared that the subject of Mrs. Morris' maltreatment was germane to the bill under consideration. He said in part:

"I object to this tariff which erects a Chinese wall around the White House as well as around the United States. Mrs. Morris' ejection was ordered and the indication of force overcame her sensitive temperament and naturally frightened her almost into hysteria. Then ensued an unequal struggle between this helpless and unoffending woman and powerful guards, in which she was barbarously handled. They dragged her across the muddy pavements, her clothing torn, her body bruised, to a patrol wagon, the usual conveyance of thugs and murderers, and hurried her to the house of detention under an imputation of insanity, which was found to be so absurd that she was immediately released.

"These unwarrantable and unnecessary brutalities demand investigation and merited censure. As for myself, the memory of my departed mother would not permit me to rest until I had given expression to my indignation. Unless Congress takes some action we will soon witness in a free republic a condition where citizens cannot approach the President they have created without fear of bodily harm from arbitrary subordinates. In the name of American womanhood and American motherhood I protest against this outrageous action. It is a distinct lowering of the standards of American manhood. It is a violation of the sentiment that lies at the base of American civilization, American liberty, and American progress—the reverence of woman. Without this sentiment the Government is an empty pageantry and the flag a lie. The lady should have been permitted to remain. She would doubtless have left of her own volition if the situation had been politely and properly explained. The presence of an American mother honors any place, although it be the audience chamber of the President of the United States. (Applause). Sir, it is impossible in words to measure the sacredness of motherhood. It is the sweetest note in the great anthem the ages chant to God, and the radiance of His infinite mercy is reflected in a mother's smiles, a mother's tears, a mother's prayers, a mother's love.

A mother's love, If there be one thing pure, Where all else besides is sullied, That can endure When all things else have passed away, If there be aught Surpassing human deed, or word, or thought, It is a mother's love.

(Applause.)

"Not until the tired hands that supported the cares of infancy and ministered to the developing years have been folded forever, not until the tired eyes grown dim and weary with the anxious vigilance of countless hours and

UNITY CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF THE SECOND MEETING AS ADOPTED.

Third New Jersey Meeting, Held Sunday, January 21st, Authorizes the Following for Publication by the Socialist Press.

Minutes of the Second Meeting of Conference Between Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party, Held at Socialist Party Headquarters, Newark, N. J., Sunday, December 31, 1905.

Officers of the Conference in Their Places.

Roll Call:

SOCIALIST PARTY:

Essex County—Killingbeck, Green, James.

Hudson County—Headley, Reilly, Wilson.

Passaic County—Glan, Gregory, Haech.

Union County—Bickerd, Cassens, Walker.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY:

Essex County—Mattick, Quinlan, Rapp.

Hudson County—Eck, Gallo, Hosack.

Passaic County—Frueh, Romary, Smithers.

Union County—B. Burgholz, Fallath, McGarry.

Minutes of the first meeting, held December 17, were read, adopted, and, by unanimous vote of the conference, ordered sent to the Socialist press for publication.

Eck, S. L. P.—Offered the following plan as a guide to intelligent discussion, which was adopted:

One Trade Union Attitude.

First—The possibility of the true political proletarian movement, i. e., the political Socialist movement remaining neutral of trade unionism.

Second—The usefulness of the American Federation of Labor to the true proletarian movement, i. e., the Socialist movement.

Third—The usefulness of the Industrial Workers of the World to the true proletarian movement, i. e., the Socialist movement.

Reilly, S. P.—There can be no Socialist neutrality on the economic question. As Socialists we know the defects of pure and simple unionism. Comrade Debs stated a truth, when he said that to suit the capitalists, there could not be too many such unions. Industrial class conscious unionism is certainly far superior. The question for us is what action should we take.

Glan, S. P.—The general impression is that the Socialist party is supposed to be neutral on the economic question, but the party adopted a trade union resolution at the 1904 National Convention, which proves it is not neutral.

Reilly, S. P.—Yes, and its phraseology is practically an endorsement of the A. F. of L. Our sentiment is said to be neutral, but that resolution was really a slap at the A. L. U.

Glan, S. P.—Well, the resolution called upon the party members to join the unions of their trades. I contend it did not call for us to support the A. F. of L. alone, but all unions, A. L. U. as well as A. F. of L.

Eck, S. L. P.—Is not that a contradiction? The A. F. of L. favors and promotes capitalism, the A. L. U. was against capitalism. How could you favor both?

Walker, S. P.—The Socialist party is not neutral to economic organizations of labor. To be neutral means to knife somebody in the back. Twenty-three years' experience in A. F. of L. has taught me that a craft union looks out for itself alone and doesn't give a tinker's damn for the rest of the working class. The Socialist Party cannot stand for that kind of thing and still be a weapon of the working class. The Socialist Labor Party does not wish neutrality, they get in, and work also, on the economic field. It means trouble, and decreasing membership, perhaps. The S. T. & L. A. was a mistake, we are here to learn from the mistakes, and remedy them. Only the future can tell as to the I. W. W. I had looked forward with hope to the Chicago Convention but from reading the proceedings and the speeches my hopes were blasted; but even yet this organization may succeed. No country so much needs a bona fide, class conscious organization of labor. If the I. W. W. proceeds rightly using the strike as a last resort and educating the workers how to vote, there should be but one political party of Socialism. Two Socialist parties make the movement a laughing stock to the capitalists. The S. P. and the S. L. P. practically occupy the same position at present since the advent of a form of unionism that is free from a political party.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—Is not the Socialist party trade union resolution merely a recommendation to the members and therefore without force?

Voice on S. P. side—"Yes, that is all."

Gallo, S. L. P.—A Socialist political movement cannot be neutral with regard to economic movements. The Socialist party itself, on the speaker's banners, says to the workers: "Join the union of your craft, join the party of your class." Evolution forced the S. T. & L. A.—the class conscious, economic organization of labor. It was not a mistake. It organized with 25,000 men and to-day we have the I. W. W. with 100,000 men, organized on class conscious lines. If it was a mistake, it was the kind of mistake that helps. Neutrality is nonsense. The S. P. stood by the miners in the coal strike, was that neutrality? It failed though to tell them that they were organized on wrong lines. The class struggle is being pretty well understood to-day. We have got to organize the workers as a class. The ballot alone is not sufficient. Witness the Hearst affair as proof.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I believe that political success, without economic backing, is possible. I don't say it is best but I do say it is possible. Eighty per cent of the workers are not organized. There is a big field for us without touching the trade union movement. A comrade says that the I. W. W. is a result of S. T. & L. A. teachings. I want to say that Debs' Woodstock experience had just as much to do with it. The I. W. W. has been organized because of the lesson of the mistakes of the organization that preceded it, and undoubtedly along true Socialist lines. There is not a member of the Socialist party but believes that the I. W. W. has the true form of organization. While, however, we may favor it as individuals, we should not as a party. There are millions outside of the unions who also need to be saved from capitalism. Comrade De Leon says we can build up a purely political movement, but that the day of its victory would be the day of its defeat, unless it had economic backing. Now I hold that it is utterly impossible for a body of men like the S. P. to talk without incutating economics in the working class. If the S. P. progresses along its present road the economic end will take care of itself. We are told 100,000 men are in the I. W. W., there are twice 100,000 in the A. F. of L. who believe in the same thing, Industrial Unionism. It is our duty as individuals to do what we can for the economic efforts of the workers, but we should take no chances of wrecking our splendid political movement by indulging an economic organization that absolutely refuses to endorse us.

Headly, S. P. (Chairman)—Neutrality means standing idly by taking no interest one way or another. The S. P. is willing to assist in organizing the working class to its best interests. Neutrality is impossible, it really ought to be cut out of the dictionary.

Eck, S. L. P.—In Germany, at Socialist Congress after Socialist Congress, this same question comes up. There the Socialist political movement dominates the economic, and because the unions are organized on Socialist lines the government is trying to organize craft unions and divide the workers. The "Wall Street Journal" has well said that A. F. of L. unionism is the greatest obstacle to Socialism in the United States. Comrade Killingbeck says 200,000 men in the A. F. of L. believe in Industrial Unionism, what of that? In the German army are millions who believe in Socialism, but that does not stamp that army as Socialist. Craft autonomous unionism kills the class instinct, therefore the A. F. of L. cannot be of us. The I. W. W. is organized on class lines, it is controlled by acknowledged Socialists. The W. F. of M. is its backbone, and they have fought better battles, and more successfully, than any other union in the country. The S. P. says don't interfere as between these,

PITTSBURG CONVENTION

OF THE MINE WORKERS A CONVENTION OF THE PITTSBURG COAL CO.

Dodds, Whom It Elected to Political Office by Means of Bribery, Elected District Secretary—Hurley, "Borer from Within" Bored Out—the "Illness of Pat Dolan.

(Special Correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 17.—The week ending January 13 was a very remarkable week for pure and simplicity, i. e., the Gompers' form of unionism. Once more the representatives or tools of the Pittsburg Coal Company met. The writer having attended a convention of the United Mine Workers of the Pittsburg district in the year 1897, thought he would attend this one, and be able to see quite a number of old faces. When August Gillhaus and myself wended our way towards the famous Morehead Hall, the first thing that met our eyes was a sign on the outside of the saloon close to the hall: "Welcome, United Mine Workers." These saloon and hotel keepers are very generous towards the miners' delegates. The reason for this will appear later on.

We (Gillhaus and I) attended the morning session of the 11th inst. The fakirs were so busy attending to the operators who check off the dues for the "union," by showing the necessity for keeping the miners of the Irwin field in line for them. He felt greatly relieved when Delegate O'Neil came to the rescue with a motion to refer the matter to the national convention. He evidently wanted the lightweights to see what the heavyweights would do with the matter: "John Mitchell," so says the capitalist press, "is the hero of the hour."

I was very anxious to see Pat Dolan, as I have seen and heard it often announced that the strenuous life of the labor leader ages him very rapidly. I discovered that the "noted" leader (sic) of the Pittsburg district, was a very sick man; so we (Gillhaus and I) decided to locate him, which we did. We found him on the eve of Friday, the 12th inst., in Matt Wise's saloon, with several other delegates. We observed Dolan closely, and we concluded that, judging from the way he ate and drank that night, he will not have to go to the hospital for a while, unless it be from over indulgence.

Some of the workmen here claim it is well known whenever a delegate will not go the way of the righteous, "knock-out drops" are administered to him, and he is put down and out. When old Pat has to go to Indianapolis he will lead the delegation and meet there another "sick" individual, in the personage of John Mitchell.

The delegates we met in the saloon were a little shy of us. One, however, very frankly stated that we, the I. W. W. men, knew they were fakirs. He openly admitted he was a fakir, but he asked: "What is a man going to do?"

There was quite a good deal of gerrymandering in the convention as to who was to get the position of District Secretary. Wm. Dodds, the present incumbent, was a candidate for the office. The readers of The People will easily recall Dodds. He is the same Dodds whom the Pittsburg Coal Company helped to elect to the position of Clerk of Courts of Allegheny County, by sending two barges of coal into one of the wards of the city wherewith to purchase votes for him. As this fact alone indicates, Dodds is a valuable Pittsburg Coal Company man. They wanted him retained for the office of District Secretary; and retained he was.

But a fight came up in the convention. A young man by the name of Hurley, a "borer from within," who has a whole lot to learn, found himself and his followers swept off the map—bored outside. Hurley can now go back to the mining pit again and ask himself if he thinks the Pittsburg Coal Company is going to allow him and his followers to be its representatives, when the Dodds, McKays, Bellinghams and Pat Dolans have been so loyal to its interests?

No doubt Dodds was very angry when the delegates voted to go to the Indianapolis convention over the Wabash, instead of the Pennsy system, as the bosses

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION

NEW YORK PROLETARIAT FILL GRAND CENTRAL PALACE TO COMMEMORATE "RED SUNDAY" AND AID RUSSIAN BRETHREN.

Speakers Address Enthusiastic Mass Meeting in Six Languages—Chopin's Funeral Dirge Beautifully Played in Tribute to Russian Dead—Clear Cut Resolutions Adopted—Large Collection Backs Assurances of Sympathy With Substantial Assistance.

One of the international chain of mass meetings and demonstrations called by the International Socialist Bureau, at Brussels, to commemorate "Red Sunday" and render moral and financial aid to the Russian revolutionists in their noble fight for the very rights won for us by the Revolutionary fathers, was held last Monday night at the Grand Central Palace, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Party, and other progressive organizations of the city. Addresses were made in five languages besides English, and were all received with hearty and long-continued applause. The hall was filled, and decorated with crimson banners.

Hardly had Basky, the second speaker begun his address, when the Russian Revolutionary Party, carrying banners and transparencies, and headed by a band playing the Marseillaise, marched into the hall. The audience rose to its feet with one accord, and cheer after cheer rent the air for the American branch of the party which is the backbone of the fight now making the monarchs of the world tremble on their thrones.

The meeting was called to order by Lazarus Abelson, organizer of Section New York, which was the prime mover in the arranging of the demonstration. Abelson presented J. J. Kinneally as the chairman, and Chas. H. Chase as the secretary of the demonstration.

The I. W. W. band then played Chopin's beautiful Funeral March, the audience standing throughout in tribute to the martyred Russians whose memory is still nerving their comrades to the struggle. During the rendition many of the men and women present were moved to tears. When the strains of the Marseillaise rose triumphantly over the dying notes of the Funeral March, the band rang again and again with the applause of the multitude.

Chairman Kinneally then introduced the first speaker, James Hunter.

Hunter drew a thrilling historical parallel between the Boston Massacre of March 3, 1770, and the St. Petersburg massacre of January 22, 1905: "No revolution is successful," he said, "till baptized in blood. The Russian revolution has received its blood baptism, and can not but go on to its successful outcome. This is a great time we are living in, and great deeds are called for from all. Let us hold up the hands of our Russian brethren, in the great deeds they are now doing for human liberty.

"The argument has been made against Socialism that if it is established in America the powers of Europe will march in and smash it up. The working class of the world, by their chain of revolutionary demonstrations around the civilized world to-night, are showing the rulers of the world that, should any such march on a Socialist Republic be planned, they will find themselves powerless before an organized revolt of their own proletariat."

L. Basky, spoke next, in Hungarian. He was followed by Boris Reinstein of Buffalo, who delivered a Russian speech which called forth enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the audience.

Upon the conclusion of Reinstein's speech, Chairman Kinneally made an impassioned appeal for funds to aid the Russian revolutionists, which resulted in a collection amounting to \$252.49. This was increased by \$30.20 collected at the doors at the close of the meeting.

Secretary Chase now read the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas, One year ago to-day, our brothers and sisters of the working class of St. Petersburg were mercilessly shot down while peacefully petitioning Nicholas II, Czar of all the Russians, for the redress of their grievances, and for the recognition of the elemental rights of man; in consequence of which massacre this date, January 22nd, will go down in proletarian history as the "Bloody Sunday;" and

Whereas, Undaunted by this treacherous attack, and undaunted by the implied threat that so would all workingmen be dealt with who dared uphold the rights of their class and carry out their historic mission, the Russian workers

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The Clash for Light

The letter, which is the subject of this article, is a double sign of the times. It manifests the earnest seeking for light, and it manifests the proper spirit of inquiry. The letter was written to John Hossack, S. L. P. of New Jersey, by W. B. Killingbeck, S. P. of the same State. With the consent of the writer, the letter is published herein and commented upon.

62 William St., Orange, N. J., January 7, 1906.
Dear Comrade Hossack:
Copy of THE PEOPLE received, which I presume came from you. I want to thank you for same.
I read very carefully your article "Theory and Practice," and fully agree with you that the most brilliant and eloquent theorists might preach until doomsday the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth, but, without economic evolution, would be doomed to failure. Owen, Bellamy and others demonstrated that very clearly.

In this we are all agreed. Without the material evolution of capitalism, Socialism remains a vague aspiration. Right here, however, it is well to keep in mind certain facts, without which the principle, though correct in itself, becomes self-destructive. The hint that may be quite enough for one man, may pass unperceived by another; the crack over the head that this other may need to be aroused, and that alone will rouse him, may have upon a third the effect of snapping the springs of his energy and crushing him altogether. Without any material foundation furnished by capitalism, there is no groundwork for the structure of Socialist thought. Obviously such a foundation was needed and was used by Marx. But equally obvious is the fact that the "hint," which sufficed to enlighten a Marx, passed unperceived of most other people, and that nothing short of downright "cracks over the head" are arousing others. It is at this stage that the principle under consideration may become self-destructive, if given too sweeping an interpretation. How many and harder "cracks over the head" is it supposed capitalism must still deal to the people before the now militant Socialists will consider that enough facts have been evolved upon which to proceed aggressively? The Socialist Labor Party holds that all the necessary material facts ("cracks over the head") have been evolved by capitalism, not as regards capitalism proper merely, but as regards all the buttresses of capitalism, craft Unionism among the lot; that the time has come for aggressive destruction and construction; and that still to wait for some more "evolution" is nothing short of inviting such further "cracks over the head" as may crush the people and put off progress indefinitely. This will appear more clearly from a detailed consideration of Killingbeck's views. He proceeds:

It seems to me that our comrades of the S. L. P. are putting up a bogymen which they dub a "theory" and simply to knock him down. I have as yet not found the member of the S. P. who denied the necessity of an economic movement for the emancipation of the working class.

And yet such S. P. men are thick as black-birds in the spring. Only last week, on the 11th of this month, the Daily People contained a correspondence from Massachusetts, signed by M. Ruther, making mention of a number of such S. P. men. Ruther reported a meeting of Socialists of the S. L. P. and the S. P. at Chicopee, held on January 7 at Fairview Turn Hall, and called by the Chicopee S. P. local to consider the position that a Socialist should take towards the Trades Union Movement. At that meeting, no less a personage than Wren of Springfield, the S. P. candidate for Governor in 1901, said "he had no faith in the economic movement and held it was only a side issue"; Ruther also quoted other S. P. members at the meeting as declaring that "it was a waste of energy to bother with economic issues." Language like this is not rare in the S. P. camp, nor has its note failed to be heard in New Jersey itself. On the afternoon of the 31st of last December, at an open meeting held in Newark, Harry Carless of the S. P., said in substance: "Anyway there are but 20 per cent. of the workers organized. They are in the trades in which a measure of skill still remains. The development of machinery will eliminate that skill, and eventually unionism will die out." The large organization of common laborers employed in the subway works of this city, and the powerful strike that they conducted two years ago, together with numerous instances of kindred nature, will occur to all in refutation of the theory that "No skill, no Union." But, apart from that, as irrelevant to the subject now under consideration, what do such views denote but the denial of "the necessity of an economic movement for the emancipation of the working class"? Surely Wren and Carless, to mention none other, are not bogymen.

The secret of Killingbeck's blindness in failing to see this particular species in the S. P. is, however, made clear in the immediately following sentence—and valuable is the secret. He says:

For years our efforts have been directed towards the pure and simple labor organizations, trying to show them the error of their ways.

Here we touch the very heart of the issue. The fact is that the S. P. has not been showing pure and simpledom the error of its way.

Has the S. P. ever tried to show pure and simpledom the error of high initiation fees intended to keep the masses of a trade, or at least the surplus hands, outside of the pale of the Union, thereby challenging their fellow wage slaves to sear it upon them, or die?

Has it ever tried to show them the error of restriction of the number of apprentices and the near-sighted ignobleness, and ignoble near-sightedness of such a course?

Has it ever tried to show them the futility and disgracefulness of a system of organization under which machinists remain at work in a shop where the molders are on strike, where compositors remain at work on a newspaper against which the newsboys are on strike, where the bituminous branch of a miners' Union remains at work when the anthracite branch is on strike?—in short has the S. P. ever tried to bring home to the pure and simple Unions that the cause of the failure of strikes, that the strike breakers, in fact, are, not the unorganized scabs, but the organized craft, which, by their conduct afford the employer time to fetch the hungry unemployed from the four quarters of the compass?

No need to extend the long catalogue of the errors of the pure and simple ways. Not only has the S. P. not tried to point out any of these, it has condoned them, aye, it has officially applauded them. At the Indianapolis S. P. convention of 1901, the Trades Union resolution there adopted praised the conduct of the craft Unions as "a nobly waging of the class struggle," and at the Chicago convention of 1904 the Ott Resolution—which aimed at condemning the fraternal relations existing between the A. F. of L. and the Civic Federation, relations that correctly reflect the caricature-of-capitalism essence of craft Unionism—were swept aside, and in their lieu was adopted a resolution affecting a non-committal posture on the field of Unionism.

Has, then, the S. P. tried to show the craft Unions no error whatever of their ways? The "error of their ways," which Killingbeck has in mind as the "error of their ways" shown to them, and as subsequent passages in his letter bring out clearly, is that "they should vote as they strike." This, to put it bluntly, in the frank spirit invited by the letter, is not to SHOW an error, but to AGGRAVATE it.

To tell craft Unions that they should vote as they strike is to concede that they are striking right; to concede that they are striking right is to concede that their form of organization and the aim thereof are sound. It is to cultivate the delusion that the craft Unions are organized against the Capitalist Class, whereas, in fact, they are organized against the bulk of the Working Class itself, and against one another. The fact will be made more clear in the course of this article when considering several other passages of the letter. Suffice it here to point out that "the error of the ways" of craft Unionism lies in its structure. Craft Unionism may claim about the "Solidarity of Labor," it practices the disruption of Labor. The "immediate needs" to which it attends are not the immediate needs to which an army attends on the march to the storming of the hostile fortress, they are measures that lead away from the fortress, and that gradually disable the army for conquest. Ignorant of the goal and mission of Unionism—the "taking and holding" the productive powers of the Nation and thus administering the industrial Government of the Socialist Republic—craft Unionism builds its structure in such wise that it is not, as it should be, the embryo of the constituencies of the future Republic of Labor, and can not possibly develop into such. Thus constructed, craft Unionism becomes a handmaid of capitalism. These are "the errors of the ways" of pure and simple organizations. The wrongful voting is but one of the several and inevitable external manifestations of the inherent defect. The "Labor Party" of Australia, the "Labor Representation Committee" of England, both of them the political reflexes of craft Unionism, vote as they strike—they strike as the "peers" of the Capitalist Class, as "brothers" who, due to the perverseness of human nature, occasionally fall out with "brothers," and they vote accordingly to establish "harmonious relations between Capital and Labor." For a Socialist to tell the craft Union to vote as it strikes, meaning thereby to vote a revolutionary ticket of Socialism, is to utter such a contradiction as can only confuse, not enlighten.

Not a line has ever proceeded from the Editors of the Socialist or Social Democratic party press pointing out the actual, the fundamental "error of the ways" of craft Unionism; not a scrap of literature has issued from that party's headquarters placing the finger upon these errors. On the contrary. Itself constructed upon the principle of "neutrality" with regard to Unions, and upon the consequent error that ignores the determining mission of the economic organization in effecting the Social Revolution, the Socialist party has not been in condition to show the pure and simple organizations the "error of their ways." Itself was, and, as a body, continues to be at sea on the Burning Question of Unionism.

Killingbeck proceeds:

but at the same time we realize that those organizations are part of our class, misguided as they are, and they are fighting the capitalist with what they consider the best weapon at their disposal. Of course we know their arms are obsolete, and furthermore a large percentage of their membership realize that fact, and are doing their utmost to show their fellow unionists the folly of their ways; but it seems to me that you fail to make clear how, by organizing rival unions, and thus splitting into fragments the only available force against the capitalist class, on the economic field, we should be enabled to persuade them to adopt more sane methods.

It should need nothing more, in order to refute the opinion that craft Unionism, or the A. F. of L., is "the only available force against the Capitalist Class on the economic field," than the indisputable fact referred to by Eugene V. Debs in the following passage from his article in this month's "Industrial Worker." He says: "The capitalist press of the land, with substantial unanimity, approves and supports the American Federation of Labor—and condemns and oppresses the Industrial Workers," a little further on, putting it strongly, yet not too strong, he refers to "The American Federation of Labor, greeted with the 'God bless you'—and the Industrial Workers, spurned with the 'God damn you'—of the capitalist press." Nor is the love and affection of the capitalist class for the A. F. of L. emphasized by its hostility for the I. W. W., as exemplified by the language of the capitalist press, ungrounded. This point deserves probing.

Craft Unionism ruptures the Working Class; it keeps the Working-Class divided between the "organized" and the "unorganized," with the majority unorganized, and it further re-subdivides the organized themselves into warring crafts. Why, the very slogan of "The Closed Shop!" set up by the A. F. of L., is proof of the split-up state that craft Unionism has the Working Class in, and wishes to perpetuate. In whose face is the shop to be "closed"? In the face of the capitalist? Certainly not. It is to be closed in the face of other workmen—of workmen whom the crafts refuse to organize and otherwise bar out to keep the jobs to themselves, and of other organized crafts against whom contracts have been entered into with the employer. No workman is anxious to work for low wages, long hours or improper conditions. Gladly would the majority of workmen be within the Union and thus present a united front to the exploiter. They are not allowed. By whom? By the A. F. of L. or craft Unions. Why? Because if all were in the organization, the organization would be compelled to share with the unemployed the earnings of the employed, either by direct assessment or by some system of "shifts." A nearsighted and narrow-minded policy, fostered by long-headed capitalist intrigue, leads the craft Unions to adopt the stupidly selfish course of seeking to "trustify" the jobs for themselves. The course is stupidly selfish because, in the long run, the craft Unionists are worse off than if they had adopted the more enlightened course,—the long-headed capitalist, however, triumphs: the narrow-minded policy on the part of the craft Unions, of attempting to "trustify" the jobs for themselves, serves the purpose not only of keeping the workers divided, but of keeping them bitterly at war with one another—a capitalist desideratum.

Craft Unionism does not require to be split from the outside—it is split into hostile fragments by itself.

Craft Unionism is not "the only available force against the capitalist class on the economic field"—it is no force whatever against capitalism; it is a prop of capitalism. Why, if not, should the A. F. of L. have the "God bless you" of the capitalist press?

The I. W. W. is not a rival Labor Organization. It is the only economic Labor Organization in the land—there is none other for it to "rival."

You charge the political Socialists with being utopian and unscientific in maintaining that it is possible to emancipate ourselves through a political organization. Well, it seems to me that if a workman hasn't brains enough to vote for his own emancipation, he certainly won't strike for it.

Very true. But this is one of those unhappy truths that Marx condemns as worse than barren. They are so worded that they turn away the logic of events and thereby lead to false conclusions. No doubt, he who has not brains enough to vote for his own emancipation "certainly won't strike for liberty." But to say that, and to stop there, is to imply that right voting is the cause, right striking the result. That, indeed, is the implication throughout this letter. Such a concept is strangely out of place in a Socialist's mouth.

The broad difference between the Socialist and the non-Socialist is that the non-Socialist imagines ideas produce material conditions, while the Socialist knows that it is material conditions that produce ideas. Political action is the idea, economic organization is the material condition. No doubt he who votes wrong will also be found to strike wrong. The reason of his wrong voting is his wrong striking. The material fact of wrong economic organization will reflect itself in the idea of wrong political action. The material fact concerning the structure of organization for immediate material existence, the Union, reflects itself in the idea to reach the more distant consummation, political triumph. The structure of craft Unionism, the organization for immediate material existence, cuts up the working class into warring fragments. Disunited in the immediate struggle for life, each trained to pursue his immediate material ends along the bourgeois plane of the wheel-barrow racing system, the angle of vision of each turned to a different objective, impossible, under such conditions, is the result of Working Class united revolutionary political action. As well expect the sun rays, that are scattered by the prism, to unite in one focus, as to imagine possible the focussing into united revolutionary political action the workers who are scattered by the prism of craft Unionism. It is not because the workers in America vote wrongly that they do not strike right, it is because they do not strike right that they are voting wrong. Socialist science, that establishes the material foundation for ideas, places this conclusion upon as solid ground as natural science places the conclusion regarding the effect of the prism upon the sun rays.

Grounded upon the material facts and the reasoning that flows therefrom, the S. L. P. rejects the idea that the workers' revolutionary political unity is possible before they are planted upon the material fact of economic unity. The S. P., consequently, strives for the Socialist political unity of the Working Class via the only route by which the thing is possible—the economic unity, Industrial Unionism.

There is no result but it reacts back upon its cause and gives the cause new stimulus. So with the sound political and the sound economic movement. The cause of sound economic organization results in sound political action; the result then reacts back upon its cause; thus acting and reacting upon each other, both the economic and the political movements are invigorated. This play of action and reaction may, at times, confuse the observer. He may be misled thereby to impute pre-eminent causal force to what is in fact but result, and vice versa. Thus he may slip into the error of imputing causal force to sound political action, when, in fact, it is but result, and vice versa consider sound economic organization a result, when, in fact, it is cause. The confusion is fatal. Sooner or later, often sooner than later, the error is discovered by its bitter fruit. There is no protection against the error except firmly to hold to the Marxian fundamental principle as to the relation in which ideas stand to material facts.

to me it is inconceivable that when the time arrives that we have a majority of the working class sufficiently intelligent to vote for the ownership of the means of production that they will be unable to find means and ways of making effective that demand.

So is such a thing inconceivable to the S. L. P. man also—and for the reasons just set forth in full. The day the Working Class shall be sufficiently intelligent to carry the polls for the abolition of wage slavery, that day they will be fully able to find the means and ways for making effective their political triumph. And they will not have to look for such ways and means before they find them; they will not have to cudgel their brains to gather such ways and means—THEY WILL BE IN POSSESSION OF THEM. The very fact of their political triumph will be the evidence of their having ready at hand the needed ways and means—possession of the Nation's machinery of production, the organized capacity to take over and immediately administer the Nation's Government, that is, its productive powers.

No Industrial Organization to encompass the possession of the needed ways

and means, no political triumph. Hence when the political triumph of Labor comes, the "ways and means" must have preceded.

I know that men in the mass are moved by their immediate necessities, and it looks far more utopian to me to expect that, for instance, the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" would go out on strike in favor of the trackmen, than it would be for those same men to vote for the same object, knowing that in doing so they would help themselves equally.

If it is Utopian to expect that a Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers man would go out on strike in support of a trackman—if it is Utopian to expect the locomotive engineer could be made to realize that, if the trackman is beaten to-day, he himself will be beaten the next day and have his wages immediately reduced below his immediate necessities—if to expect such a thing is Utopian, then doubly Utopian must be the expectation of ever seeing the workingman spurn the cash bribe of the capitalist for his vote, or to disregard the capitalist's threat of shutting down in case the party which he opposes wins—if that is Utopian, then, doubly Utopian must be the expectation that the workingman will remain cold to the demands upon his immediate necessities, and yet warm up in favor of the remoter advantage to come from "voting right."

The fact that "men in masses are moved by their immediate necessities" is a monumental signpost that points to the Socialist the route he must strike—the building of the sound economic organization that will safeguard the immediate necessities of the Working Class, and that, as such, will be reflected in a sound ballot, and will keep in readiness the might to enforce, if need be, the fiat of that ballot.

As Bebel says the mass strike can only become effective when the workers are sufficiently educated and organized to realize its political significance.

Bebel is too busy a man to waste his time shouting the obvious. It is not like him to waste his time even in asserting that the education of the workers must precede intelligent action on their part—whether political, economic, or otherwise. We all know that, and knowing it, however much S. L. P. and S. P. men may differ, both endeavor to educate the workers. Accordingly, the citing of Bebel at this point can be accounted for only upon the theory that Killingbeck missed the trend and connection of Bebel's speech, pronounced at last year's national convention of the German Social Democracy.

That speech of Bebel's, as he pronounced it, has no bearing upon the question now on the tapis in this country. At last year's German Trades Union convention, held at Cologne, and immediately preceding the convention of the party, a resolution on strikes was adopted, the extreme conservatism of which is accounted for upon the theory that the Unionists meant thereby to make a demonstration against Anarchy. The resolution overreached itself. It was so excessive a repudiation of the idea of the general strike that Bebel assailed it at the party convention. The purpose of that speech began and ended with the endeavor to show that despicable would that workman be who, even if his political rights were trespassed upon by the Capitalist Class, would tamely submit, instead of rising in revolt. There was no question of the economic strike for economic redress. The only question was with regard to the strike, not as a weapon of revolution, but as a weapon of resistance for political ends. In so far as any analogy can be drawn between Bebel's speech and the purposes of the I. W. W., the speech gives cold comfort to the pure and simple political Socialists. Bebel recognized the importance of Unionism; he admitted the eventual necessity of physical force; above all, he looked to the economic organization when the necessity should arise.

and how are we going to reach the workers to impart this education. If we antagonize their present form of organization, by organizing "rival unions," and thus becoming "in their eyes virtually 'scabs'?"

If this reasoning means any thing it means: first, that the Working Class of the land is organized in the craft Unions, secondly that the craft Unions are a "happy family." Both views are mistaken.

As to the first, it has partly been disposed of in a previous answer. Even admitting the wildest pipe dreams of Gompers, and the obviously padded figures that local "labor leaders" in search for political pap are in the habit of trotting before the politicians as the membership of their Unions, even then the overwhelming majority of the Working Class is unorganized. This is no secret known to this office alone. We know of pure and simple political Socialists who are well aware of the fact. Aye, they argue from it in support of their pure and simple political doctrine.

John Mitchell Exposed

BY
ROBERT RANDELL

The President of the United Mine Workers' Union, John Mitchell, is a labor leader widely known, a leader who has been almost idolized by many workmen believing him to be the foremost defender of labor's cause, and we would it were true. But far from being the true guardian of labor's interests, Mitchell has betrayed vast armies of strikers to disastrous defeat. In these addresses, Randall, a member of the United Mine Workers, lays bare Mitchell's autocratic and traitorous conduct in the Colorado-Utah strike of 1903-4, and also his infamous connection with the National Civic Federation. This is a valuable lesson in the methods of the lieutenants of capital as labor leaders. The "Two Pages from Roman History," read by the light of this expose, will be better comprehended.

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"Barely 20 per cent. of the Working Class are organized," thus runs their reasoning, "therefore, the Union Question is a vanishing one." The conclusion is false: just because only a trifling minority of the workers are organized the Union Question is all the more urgent. Nevertheless, the premises are correct. The overwhelming majority of the workers are unorganized. It can not be otherwise under the rule of craft Unionism. Pure and simpledom seeks to squeeze the hoghead measure of the Labor Movement into the pint measure of craft Unionism. There are within a radius of twenty-five miles of the City Hall of New York more unorganized workmen than Gompers ever claimed membership for his Civic Federation annex—the A. F. of L. Surely the way to reach the workers can not be by ignoring the many and considering only the trifling few.

As to the second view, the danger of being called "scabs" by the craft Unions, that is a danger before which, of all men, the Socialist should be the last to recoil. For one thing, the Socialist knows that there is no more poisonous rattlesnake than "threatened private interests." If hard names are to be run away from, the Socialist had better leave the buccaneer Capitalist Class alone. For another, if any one epithet is more common than any other in the camp of craft Unionism, as an epithet bandied among themselves, it is "scab." There is not a craft Union in existence that has not at some time or other yelled "scab!" at another. The recent A. F. of L. Convention was luminous upon that. Hard words break no bones; even if they did they should have no terror for the Socialist. His mission is to spread light and clear the way for light by cutting through the thick underbrush and tangle of accumulated superstitions. The only way to seize the nettle is to seize it with a firm, resolute hand, and tear it up—with all the gentleness that is possible, and all the severity that may be needed. The next passage will help to illustrate the point:

To-day we have entrance to a large and increasing number of their unions—for instance, I spoke to a machinists' union last night, and met with a very cordial reception; but by taking a partisan stand in their factional quarrels, we immediately raise such a wall of prejudice that it becomes almost impossible to surmount it.

Somewhere in Prof. Ely's works he tells of an experience that he made one evening lecturing in a Boston Beacon street salon to a select gathering of ladies and gentlemen. After the lecture, which was received coldly, he approached a prepossessing young lady, seated at a table. The conversation turned upon the subject of the lecture. The only comment that the young lady made, as she sipped her tea, was the significant

one: "The Rev. So and So lectured to us last time; but he made us feel so comfortable!"

Of what practical benefit to the Cause of the Emancipation of the Working Class is "entrance to a large and increasing number of Unions" if the Socialist makes the craft Unionists "feel so comfortable"?

Useless harshness is wrong. No Socialist will resort to it. But Truth and Facts are stinging weapons with which the Socialist may not compromise, and which it is his bounden duty to wield regardless of the incidental pain that they may cause. For that the Socialist has the maxim of no less wise and benevolent an educator than Wendell Phillips. When rated for the "violence" of the language of the Abolitionists, towards chattel slavery, he said:

"We have facts for those who think, arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. * * * Prove to me that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule are wholly and always unjust; if I be; else we dare not in so desperate a case throw away any weapon which ever broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed, in any way the conduct of a human being."

Prejudice is never to be overcome by making it feel comfortable.

I have written this with no controversial intent, but simply to discuss the matter in a spirit of comradeship, and find the light, if possible, and I trust it will be accepted in the same spirit.

I remain, yours for the revolution,
W. B. KILLINGBECK.

The S. L. P. hails the spirit in which Killingbeck of the S. P. has broached with Hossack of the S. L. P. this Burning Question of Trades Unionism, which, here in America, has naturally developed into the Burning Question of Socialist Unity; above all, the S. L. P. hails the New Era that has burst upon the Socialist Movement of the land—the New Era that rolls back into the past and discards the methods of personal vilification, with which alone and uniformly the privately owned press of the Socialist or Social Democratic party has sought and still seeks to belound the issue, and thereby avoid dispassionate discussion. All hail to this New Era! The Socialist has no hobby; he has only a Great Cause to serve. Let the facts be drawn up; let the opposing reasoning clash. Blows, dealt for Truth, are dealt in good faith; the blows received by the truth-seeker leave no smart behind. No greater favor can be done to the S. L. P. than, if it errs in aught, to have its error laid bare. No doubt Killingbeck is animated by the same spirit.

Open Letter to the Louisville Federation of Labor

John Stephens Cor. Sec'y,
2571 Rawan St., City.

Gentlemen—Your communication of Dec. 1, enclosing copies of certain resolutions adopted by your Federation at its meeting of Nov. 28th, and requesting us to endorse said resolutions and mail copies to each of the members of the legislature in this district and to Governor Beckham at Frankfort, was duly received and has been carefully considered, and we herewith submit for your serious consideration our reply.

From your whereas and resolutions we quote the following:

"Whereas, The present system of the employment of the convicts in the penal institutions of the State of Kentucky, under the existing Contract System, is highly injurious and prejudicial to the interests of free labor, and materially affects the prosperity of the manufacturers and employees of this state engaged in the production of similar articles, and,

"Whereas, The State of Kentucky is only receiving for the labor of its convicts on an average of forty cents per day for each convict so employed under said system.

"Whereas, The various articles so produced when completed, can be placed on the market at a lower price than the same can be produced and sold when made by free labor for the manufacturers of this state, resulting in unfair and injurious competition with free labor and the manufacturing interests of this state,

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that we are unalterably opposed to the further continuance of the system now in use in this state regulating the employment of convict labor, and are in favor of the enactment of suitable laws by the legislature, which will remove injurious consequences now attending the use of the same.

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that

herby requests the representatives of the legislature of the State of Kentucky for this District to use their best and unceasing efforts for the enactment by the legislature of this State of suitable laws for the purpose of removing the competition now existing between convict labor and the free labor of this state, and the entire abolition of the present system.

"Therefore, Be it further resolved, that the Secretary of this

be and he is hereby directed to forward to the members of the legislature in this district to their respective addresses, a properly authenticated copy of this resolution, and that likewise a copy hereof be sent to the Governor of this Commonwealth."

At the beginning we desire to call your attention to the fact that the members of the legislature "elected" from this district, whom you now propose to send your resolutions and petitions to, were strongly supported in the recent campaign by our local labor leaders, and especially by the New Era, as "Great Friends of Labor."

And, if these gentlemen, the said members of the legislature, whose certificates of election were obtained for them through the rape of the ballot by the Democratic machine, were the "great friends of labor" your local labor leaders claimed they were, why should it be considered necessary to get up resolutions and petitions to them now? Have they so soon forgotten what "great friends" they are of labor?

You, gentlemen, complain because the administration of Governor Beckham lets out the wards of the State, convicts, to contractors at an average of only 40 cents a day per convict.

Why should YOU complain of this? Do you not, and does not your American Federation of Labor hold that the wages system is fixed, permanent, unchangeable? Do you not hold that the buying and selling of wage-laborers in the market, like the buying and selling of other commodities, must go on forever? Are not the prices of wage-laborers, like the prices of other commodities, determined largely by the increase or diminution of the number of wage-laborers in the market?

If laborers must remain forever a mere commodity, as is taught by your A. F. of L. philosophy, to be bought and sold like corn or cattle, or wool or wheat in the market, WHY SHOULD YOU COMPLAIN when your peculiar A. F. of L. commodity, consisting of A. F. of L. "free laborers" under your everlasting wages system, subject to the same laws governing the prices of other commodities, suffers from the operation of these same unchangeable laws of this same unchangeable system, which you gentlemen always support in political campaigns?

If you, of the A. F. of L., disciples and followers of Sam Gompers, are honestly and sincerely for the competitive,

capitalist system, why should YOU squeal when it hurts you?

Or is it not barely possible that your local labor leaders are simply getting up and passing these resolutions and petitions to the legislature for the supposed good effect this sort of campaigning will have upon the rank and file in leading them to believe the said "local labor leaders" are fighting their battles, so that they may be able to keep themselves well to the front in labor circles and hence in a position to attract the attention of politicians, who have capitalist boodle to distribute, when political campaigns are on?

Again, if, as your American Federation of Labor professes, the interests of employers and employees are the same; if their interests must flourish together or suffer in common, as you indirectly assert in your enclosed "whereas and resolutions" in which you claim that convict labor "materially affects the prosperity of the manufacturers and employees of this state" and that such convict labor "results in unfair and injurious competition with free labor and the manufacturing interests"; if all this be true, why should your Federation go to the trouble and expense of sending these resolutions and petitions to the legislature?

We are decidedly of opinion that the manufacturers of Kentucky will not neglect their own interests; that their representatives in the legislature will guard their interests faithfully, and, in guarding the interests of the manufacturers, are they not at the same time guarding the interests of their employees, if, as your A. F. of L. holds, the interests of employers and of employees are the same?

Does not your American Federation of Labor advise against the workers going into politics as a class on the ground that the workers have no separate and distinct class interests of their own for the advancement and securing of which their action as a class is required?

Why, then, seek endorsement of your petitions by your craft-divided hosts of organized "free laborers" as laborers, if labor has no separate interests of its own?

Why not lay your petitions before all the various classes and professions, employers as well as employees, politicians and preachers, business men and lawyers, landlords and bankers, if there are no distinct classes in society with antagonistic interests?

Again, did not you gentlemen, also support Governor Beckham and the present State administration in their campaign for the offices they now hold? And were they not all of them, "great friends of labor" in that campaign?

Why, then, should YOU deem it necessary to petition them now? Is it possible that the Governor also has forgotten so soon what a "great friend of labor" he is?

But you complain because Governor Beckham sells his commodity, Democratic and Republican convicts, at 40 cents a day per convict. Why should you complain? Is not your A. F. of L. laborer "free"? What more could your laborer ask than freedom? Cannot your "free laborer" hold his commodity at any price he pleases, sell it when he pleases, and for as much as he pleases? Why should he care so long as he is a "free laborer", what price Gov. Beckham sells his, why he can keep it. He is "free", that is to say, he is in the state of "freedom" your American Federation of Labor holds he is forever to occupy whether he seems to enjoy it or not.

According to your theory, if the laborer, being "free", does not wish to accept the price offered for his commodity he may refuse to sell. The price your "free laborer" refuses to sell himself for Governor Beckham, your "great friend of labor", decides to accept for his commodity consisting of convicts, poor Democratic and Republican convicts. And has not he the right to do it? Has not Governor Beckham, your "great friend" as much right to sell his commodity as you have to sell yours? Would you attempt to restrict the right of your "great friend", Governor Beckham, to do as he pleases with his commodity, sell it when he pleases and for as much, or as little, as he pleases?

No, gentlemen, we of the Industrial Workers of the World cannot endorse your resolutions. We do not agree with you that the wages system is fixed, permanent, unchangeable.

We do not believe that the wage-working class steadily increasing in numbers will forever consent to live in a state of dependence upon the capitalist class steadily decreasing in numbers for an opportunity to gain their daily bread.

Neither do we agree with you that the politicians to whom you wish copies of your resolutions sent are "great friends of labor" or even small friends of labor or that they are any friends of labor at

all. They are enemies of labor. And we decline to stoop to the deception of sending petitions to our political and economic enemies.

If your "whereas and therefore be it resolved" were of any value and you wished to utilize them in the interest of labor; why didn't you carry a string of them to Judge Gregory and persuade him who was also, when a candidate for office a "great friend of labor," to render his decision in favor of the black-listed sewing girls when they had their suit for damages against the Ox Breeches Manufacturing in his court?

We are fully persuaded that your "whereas, resolutions and petitions" will not be worth to the cause of labor as much as the paper on which they are printed.

We would like to remind you in this connection that the petition carried to President Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill by a delegation of mine workers asking him to interpose his executive power in behalf of the Western miners who were being deported from their homes in Colorado, without trial or conviction, in violation of their constitutional rights, did not induce the President to interfere in behalf of the deported miners.

No, gentlemen, we cannot endorse your servile attitude of begging for political favors at the hands of our political enemies. Neither can we endorse your A. F. of L. contention that the interests of capitalists and laborers are identical. We repudiate that statement as an American Civic Federationized Lie uttered by labor's enemies, not for the enlightenment and encouragement of labor, but to mystify the minds of the workers, and render the fakirs' task of betraying them so much the easier.

And we hold that among labor's enemies the worst are those among its leaders who for personal gain betray the trust reposed in them by a too confiding rank and file. We hold that the fruits of labor should belong to those who have produced them. The Industrial Workers of the World repudiates the cowardly A. F. of L. motto of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." On our banner is inscribed the declaration: "To labor the full product of its toil." We are for the emancipation of our class from the fetters of wage slavery and the rearing of the workers' republic.

No, gentlemen, we cannot go with you as petitioners, like Lazarus, to beg for crumbs at our master's tables. We are decidedly against your A. F. of L. policy of misleading labor into the shambles of capitalist party politics.

Laws in the interest of the exploited class, the wage working class, are sorely needed; but it is a crime against the workers to lead them to believe that they can get the laws they need by voting either of the capitalist party tickets, or by sending petitions to capitalist party politicians in the halls of legislation at Frankfort of anywhere else.

The remedy for the wrongs and outrages under which labor toils and suffers lies not in voting for political servants of the capitalist class who style themselves and have their "labor lieutenants" style them "great friends of labor" in political campaigns, nor in carrying "whereas, resolutions and petitions" to them after they are elected.

Labor must in its own name, in its own right, and in its own might redress its own wrongs. The working class can right its own wrongs whenever it has the intelligence and the will to do it. Labor must bounce the fakirs and false leaders in its ranks, learn to stand upon its own feet, study its own interests as a class, and understanding them as a class, must unwaveringly stand by them.

Labor as a class must be industrially organized; and whenever necessary strike as a class, and vote together as a class. And until the workers of the world unite on both the economic and political fields and "take and hold that which they produce by their labor" they cannot be free, all the labor fakirs in the world and capitalist politicians styling themselves "friends of labor" to the contrary notwithstanding.

Very truly yours,
Mixed Local No. 73, Industrial Workers of the World.
Louisville, Ky., Jan. 3, 1906.

ANDREAS DEFENCE FUND.
Sympathizer, Belleville \$ 1.00
Wm. Andreas, Belleville 1.50
W. P. Williams, ...25
David J. Moran, Pawtucket, R. I. .50
I. Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y. 50
Geo. Ott, New York 50
C. Singer, Pittsburgh, Pa. 50
John Masoner 50

Total \$ 9.75
Previously acknowledged \$67.24

Total \$76.99
Walter Goss,
701 Bristow Street,
Treasurer Illinois S. E. C. S. L. P.
Belleville, Illinois.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

UNITY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1.)

our one enemy, the other our friend—it says aid both.

Eck then said S. P. men had been frightened by the mention of De Leon's name, as children were frightened by bugaboos. He would not quote him, but would quote one whom they favored, Kautsky.

Eck then read from "Neu Zeit" utterances of K. Kautsky in support of his argument. Eck claimed it would be easier to take away our votes, than to take away arms from European workmen. So long as we pin our faith to the ballot alone, capitalists will let it slowly grow to tickle us.

Wilson, S. P.—I would like to ask before taking the floor: Does S. L. P. delegation think that object of conference will be lost unless indorsement of I. W. W. is agreed upon?

S. L. P.—A voice: No.
Frueh, S. L. P.—The S. L. P. has not officially indorsed the I. W. W.

Glanz, S. P.—One S. L. P. man says the S. T. & L. A. started with 25,000 men, at the Chicago Convention it had fourteen delegates, representing 1,400 members, now he says they have 100,000. Who does he mean by we?

Gallo, S. L. P.—The I. W. W.

Headly, S. P.—It is understood that we are to favor Industrial Unionism instead of craft unionism?

Frueh, S. L. P.—The point is this, the I. W. W. gets S. L. P. support because of its Socialist principles, while the organizations we oppose stand for the present system, which system both the S. P. and the S. L. P. want to overthrow.

Hossack, S. L. P.—It seems to me that the first cause of the topic for discussion has really been disposed of. From what our S. P. comrades have said I believe that they understand that Socialists cannot remain neutral with regard to economic organizations of labor. I think we should now proceed to consider the second clause.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I offer this resolution: "Resolved: That it is the sense of this conference that a political organization of the working class should at all times be interested in furthering the welfare of the workers, and that it is not possible for a true political movement to remain neutral of the economic movement."

Walker, S. P.—It should be incorporated there, that as Socialists we recognize at all times the necessity of standing by the working class in economic struggles.

Frueh, S. L. P.—I favor changing the wording to read a progressive organization cannot ignore the economic movement.

Hossack, S. L. P.—After the word progressive, add political.

Walker, S. P.—Give us something more tangible.

Here there followed a number of suggestions as to how the resolution should be worded.

Glanz, S. P.—We must know just what we are doing. We have three elements in the S. P. I. W. W., A. F. of L., and those who hold that economic organization is not necessary for establishment of Socialism. We want to place ourselves in such a position that those who join the Socialist movement will understand that position, and that we are in favor of industrial economic organization. We are opposed to all craft organizations, knowing that they are enemies of the working class.

Gallo, S. L. P.—I offer as a substitute for the whole the following: Resolved, That the Socialist political movement of the working class cannot remain neutral to the organized effort of the working class to better their economic conditions on class conscious, revolutionary lines. Seconded.

James, S. P.—It is well known that the S. P. side is weak as compared to the S. L. P. and I move that Comrade Carless be allowed to speak for us. Not seconded, and strongly objected to by Killingbeck, S. P.

The question was then called for on the motion by Gallo, which was accepted in place of the previous one, and the vote on its adoption was S. L. P., twelve for, S. P., ten for, two against, or twenty-two to two.

The discussion then proceeded to the second clause of the motion, defining the order of the topics for discussion.

Walker, S. P.—Lay it on the table.

Killingbeck, S. P.—Offered the following: Resolved, That it be the sense of this conference that the A. F. of L., as organized at present, is detrimental to the interests of the working class. Seconded.

Frueh, S. L. P.—I would amend: We are opposed to the principles of the A. F. of L. form of organization.

Romary, S. L. P.—I would amend to read that the A. F. of L. form of organization and its principles are an obstacle to working class emancipation. Seconded.

The vote on this motion, as amended by Romary, was unanimously in favor. The discussion then proceeded to the third clause.

Green, S. P.—It is my opinion that the S. P. should now go on record as indorsing the I. W. W. in opposition to the A. F. of L. We all believe in the new organization.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—The I. W. W. is O. K.; so was the S. T. & L. A. The A. F. of L. is in politics now. In New York it advises union men to vote for legislators favoring the eight hour law. These same men will also vote for the very judges who will declare the law, if it goes through, unconstitutional. The kind of organization we favor should be plainly stated.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I would offer this resolution: Resolved, That it be the sense of this conference that the organization of the working class on the economic field should be along the lines of industrial unionism, and that we recommend to all members of the Socialist parties to help build up a class-conscious labor organization. Seconded by Green.

Walker, S. P.—Craft organization has never yet been a friend of the working class. I remember when we had the Hunger Parade here, that the unions met to consider the conditions that confronted us and what did we find? We found Democratic heeled in the unions trying to have resolutions passed thanking the Democratic party for its kindness to the workers, and Republican heeled in the same union boosting resolutions thanking the Republican party for free soup. The Socialists put the whole thing on-the-bum by voting against all the resolutions. I recollect that the blue stone cutters dropped out of the thing because their union didn't pay them \$3 per day for the time they were attending meetings with the avowed purpose of getting something for starving working people. We can go forward to Socialism if opposed by craft unionism.

Wilson, S. P.—I am pleased with the progress made. Neutrality means compromise, negation, and ends in impotence. We are evolving from the morass of sentimentality on to the hard battle-ground of the Socialist revolution, and this is progress. I take it that the Socialist, scientific Socialist position, in its philosophy is a positive one. And it is this positiveness that makes militant Socialists of us. Having in mind the battle-ground, constructive Socialism, you must have the class-conscious co-operation of the working class. Without it, your political program may go up in the air. In the past we have frittered away too much time with organizations that would not be class-conscious. Industrial Unionism implies the defeat, the downfall of craft organization. It means fight, the same as it did with the S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. But we cannot be passive. The fight opens the way for Socialist thought to dominate. If there was any hope in craft unionism Socialism would not be compelled to do this. Craft unionism is hopeless; while industrial unionism we know opens the door to Socialist teaching, and provides a vast field for our agitation to become busy in. We must, therefore, logically recognize and welcome the I. W. W. as an organization, as allies and fellow-builders of the Workingmen's Republic. This is the most important move we can take here. It eventually means that we commit ourselves from the policy of laissez faire and sentimentality to militant, revolutionary Socialism. As I said, I am glad we have gotten along so far, and I hope something practical will be presented to rally together and unite the forces of Socialism.

Reilly, S. P.—Some Socialists speak as if Samuel Gompers is the A. F. of L. One great evil as exemplified in the A. F. of L. is the lack of spirit of the rank and file. If the Socialist spirit existed in the organization, a Gompers, no, nor a hundred Gompers, could not stop it, and yet I have known of a union that refused to join the A. F. of L. because the Federation was too radical. Theoretically I can see it is the craft conflicts, the closed shop, the high dues, etc., that kill the class spirit, and leaves little time for anything but discussion of petty interests. The I. W. W. with its uniformity, its easy transfer, is superior, and it does away with the necessity of boring from within. If the S. P. and S. L. P. unite nationally, perhaps some S. P. men will break. Some will split. I don't favor any compromise that would bring unity without a split. Only in a full and free discussion can we decide what is best to do.

Glanz, S. P.—In regard to indorsing the I. W. W., while I favor its principles, I am opposed to indorsing it. Who can say if a year from to-day the I. W. W. will be offered by Socialists? It might be that the officers would be Republicans or Democrats. What would become of such indorsement then?

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The Industrial Worker

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A Monthly Paper, sixteen pages, 64 columns.

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148 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A voice, S. L. P. side—Our support would be quickly withdrawn. The important thing is that the organization is to-day based upon the principles of the class struggle.

Gallo, S. L. P.—I hope that fear of a split will not deter the members of the Socialist party from putting themselves on record in favor of the truth, and I would amend the resolution under discussion to read: Resolved, That this conference places itself on record as favoring the organization of the working class upon the lines of the class struggle as laid down by the I. W. W. and we call upon all militant Socialists to ally themselves with the I. W. W. Seconded by Eck. The mover of the amendment, and the seconder, accepted an amendment to the amendment, cutting out all the words that follow the word struggle.

At this point the hour of adjournment was near and some on the S. P. side were anxious to vote or to prolong the session until a vote could be reached.

Frueh, S. L. P.—No vote should be taken until each matter is thoroughly thrashed out. I am willing to come here three or four times, if necessary, to clear up one point. We seem to be of one mind upon the proposition, but the proposition may not be entirely clear upon all of our minds. The S. L. P. has not, as yet, indorsed the I. W. W. and we certainly won't ask you to do what we have not done ourselves. We should be absolutely clear upon what we do. The important thing is that you support a class-conscious, revolutionary organization. The I. W. W. is opposed to the Republican, Democratic—the capitalist system. It is or-

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Robert T. Wetzel, 67 Mt. Vernon avenue, rear.
Rockville, Conn.
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Salem, Mass.
T. L. Brennan, 4 Warren street.
San Antonio, Tex.
Frank Leitner, 517 Wyoming street.
San Jose, Cal.
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S. Johnson, 594 Jackson street.
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John Henriksen, 1816 18th street.
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Chas. Martin, 3814 So. L street.
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Tuolumne, Cal.
J. B. Ferguson.
Utica, N. Y.
Wm J. Wuest, 43 Erie st.
Vancouver, B. C.
B. Surges, 235 1/2 Princess street.
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Worcester, Mass.
W. J. Hoar, 2 Maple street.
Yonkers, N. Y.
A. C. Rutstein.
Dublin, Ireland.
Wm. O'Brien, 35 Parliament street.

ganized for the overthrow of the present system. Having declared for that it is a Socialist organization. We who are Socialists should be in the vanguard of the labor movement.

Walker, S. P.—Upholds Frueh's idea of being sure of what we do at this time.

Killingbeck, S. P.—If we adopt the amendment it means disaster. Our party will split. It will not be a slight split but a break up of that entire Socialist organization. I would appeal to the progressive trades unions which are to-day considering the S. P. throughout the land. I would not antagonize even the A. F. of L. and this is the only basis upon which we can ever agree. We believe in democracy in such things, and we fight for the goal. If we tie ourselves to that resolution it means a bigger fight.

The hands of the clock showed the hour of five, the time to adjourn the session.

Glanz, S. P.—Wanted the session to sit till midnight if necessary as it was to our interest to settle the matter there and then. He was satisfied it could be done.

Various motions to extend time were voted down on recommendation of Frueh that we stick to the rules.

The conference then adjourned to meet January 21, to then take up the proceedings where they were left off.

The conference adjourned with the feeling on both sides that the two delegations had soberly and seriously labored to reach solid ground for the unity of the Socialist forces.

JAMES M. REILLY.

Secretary for S. P.

JOHN HOSSACK.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published Every Saturday by the
Socialist Labor Party.

Entered as second-class matter, t the
New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 36,564
In 1900..... 34,191
In 1904..... 34,172

One ship drives east, another west,
With the self-same winds that blow;
'Tis the set of the sails
And not the gales
Which tell us the way they go.

—ANONYMOUS.
In "Technical World Magazine" for Feb-
ruary.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

On Jan. 17 occurred the bi-centenary
of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. Pa-
pers eulogistic of his greatness are the
order of the day. One editor says of
Franklin in a prefatory note: "He re-
mains more than Washington or Patrick
Henry, or even Lincoln or Grant, the
typical American." Considering the
standards of greatness prevalent, this is
high praise, indeed. But it is worthy
the man. Franklin, scientist, inventor,
philosopher and statesman, was a many
and great minded man. He was versa-
tile without being superficial; active
without being strenuous; a genius with-
out being an ego-maniac. Born amid
Puritanical surroundings, he personified
the most liberal culture of the world of
his time. Karl Marx, in one of those
luminous and profound foot-notes to
"Capital" (P. 629), for which he is just-
ly renowned, names Franklin as one of
the great men who originally studied
political economy, in contrast to the
"reverend scribblers," like Malthus, who
followed them. Says Marx: "Originally,
political economy was studied by philo-
sophers like Hobbes, Locke, Hume;
by business men and statesmen, like
Thomas Moore, Temple, Stiles, De Witt,
North, Law, Vanderlint, Cantillon,
Franklin; and especially, and with the
greatest success, by medical men like
Petty, Barbon, Mandeville, Quesnay."
To have one's name mentioned among
such names by a man like Karl Marx, is
a tribute to greatness of the highest
order.

And Marx, in another of his admir-
able foot notes, on the discussion of the
nature of value (P. 19), pens these very
complimentary words: "The celebrated
Franklin, one of the first economists,
after Wm. Petty, who saw through the
nature of value, says: 'Trade in general
being nothing else but the exchange of
labour for labour, the value of all things
is . . . most justly measured by
labour.' (The works of B. Franklin, &c.,
edited by Sparks, Boston, 1836. Vol. II,
p. 267)." This penetrating contribution
of the foremost "typical American" to
the basic economic doctrines of Socialism
will, perhaps, jar those who otherwise
venerate him.

But it is not alone as an economist
that Franklin ranks among the great,
and is so recognized by the greatest
among them,—it is as a sociologist as
well. Lewis Morgan, the great Amer-
ican ethnological writer, discussing the
property career of civilized nations (P.
553, "Ancient Society"), declares that
"The time will come, nevertheless, when
human intelligence will rise to the mas-
tery over property, and define the rela-
tions of the state to the property it pro-
tects, as well as the obligations and the
limits of the rights of the owners. The
interests of society are paramount to
individual interests, and the two must be
brought into just and harmonious rela-
tions. A mere property career is not
the final destiny of mankind, if progress
is to be the law of the future as it has
been of the past." Franklin anticipated
Morgan by a century, when he declared
"Private property is a creature of so-
ciety, and is subject to the calls of that
society whenever its necessities shall re-
quire it, even to its last farthing; its
contributions, therefore, to the public
exigencies are . . . the return of an
obligation previously received, or the
payment of a just debt." This radical
communistic exaltation of the social wel-
fare—of human life—above property,
will add to the jar the reverential wor-
shippers of Franklin will perhaps receive
from his contributions to the basic eco-
nomic doctrines of Socialism.

Whether it does or not, the economic
and sociological contributions of Frank-
lin to the world's progress, will add to
his stature and raise him above the bour-
geoisie he so well served.

All honor to Benjamin Franklin,
genius of his age, and like all ages, in
advance of it!

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

Sufficient facts are now in concerning
this week's British elections to form an
approximate estimate of what has hap-
pened. It is now clear that what hap-
pened is not what the first returns, sen-
sational in appearance and still more
sensationally reported, seemed to portend.
Duly weighed, the overturn in
Parliament is not a "triumph for free
trade," still less is it "the quietus of
protection," least of all is it "a revolu-
tion of Labor." What happened is the
downfall with disgrace of the ex-Premier
Balfour, the emphatic condemnation of
nervousness in policy and lack of con-
fidence in matters of principle.

England has long been a free trade
country in substance. Among the British
free traders Joseph Chamberlain had
been a conspicuous figure. With the
close of the Boer War Chamberlain, then
in the Conservative Balfour Cabinet,
changed his views. Chamberlain is a
capitalist with the keen instincts of one.
Altered conditions in the capitalist world
led him to the conclusion that the safety
of the Empire of the British capitalists
demanded an alteration in their tariff
policy. He devised a plan of differential
tariffs in favor of the Empire and its
dependencies, with, if necessary, exclu-
sive tariffs against the outer world. The
merits or demerits of the Chamberlain
plan need not here be considered. The
conglomeration of negations, known as
the Liberal party, took up the gauntlet
to the cry of "Free Trade!" Balfour's
weakness became apparent from that
moment on. He had no views upon the
burning question thus thrown up. The
sails of his Cabinet ship flapped, the
ship was rudderless. The Liberal outcry
chopped up the political seas, the Bal-
four Cabinet resigned, and a new election
was ordered.

It was under these circumstances that
the election took place. Real tests of
the issue centered around Balfour and
Chamberlain. Balfour, the vacillator,
lost his seat, together with Manchester;
Chamberlain, the man of convictions and
a well-defined purpose, kept his seat
with an increased majority and carried
the rest of Birmingham with him. The
significant circumstance that both Bir-
mingham and Manchester are work-
men centers disposes of the theory that
English Labor expressed itself for either
free trade or protection. The circum-
stance furthermore throws light on what
has been termed the "Revolution of
Labor," as expressed by the "Labor
vote."

The term "Labor Vote" is extended
to comprise a variety of heterogeneous
elements. At one extreme, nearest ap-
proaching Socialism, stands Kier Hardie
with his Independent Labor Party. From
Kier Hardie and his party, the "Labor
Vote" runs down through the gamut of
Will Thorne, whose caliber may be best
gauged by the circumstance of his en-
joying the questionable distinction of
having been the candidate of the Coun-
tess of Warwick, better known to fame
or ill-fame as the "Babbling Brook," and
whose hysterically sensational cam-
paigning pulled him through, down to
the Labor Representation Committee, a
"harmony between Capital and Labor,"
political expression of a "harmony be-
tween Capital and Labor" aggregation
of craft Unions, which furnished the
largest contingent of votes and will hold
the largest contingent of "Labor Repre-
sentatives" in the Parliament. With
this review of the general lay of the
land, the figures will be better under-
stood, also will be understood the tone
of alarm that already comes from the
British Liberal camp, so close upon the
shouts of victory, and so very close upon
the misgivings of "revolution."

So far, 430 members of Parliament
have been elected. Of these, 96 only are
conservatives. That would leave, so far,
an apparent anti-conservative majority
not less than 334 strong. The majority
is, however, by no means "Liberal" or
free trade. In the first place, there are
70 Irish Nationalists; these are every-
thing but reliable allies; they will plump
their votes against the Liberals any mo-
ment that their special interests dictate.
The anti-conservative majority is, ac-
cordingly, reduced to 264. This majority
is made up of Liberals, 224, and "Labor-
ites," 40, altogether 264. That these
Laborites may not stick solidly to the
Liberals is theoretically obvious; the
theory is confirmed by the rumors that
now begin to be heard to the effect that
"so far as consideration of the tariff is
concerned, Labor rather favors than re-
jects the policy Mr. Chamberlain has put
before the country." Reduced to the
last analysis, the Liberal party has, so
far, only a clear majority of 18.

The overturn at the polls in Great
Britain is complete and crushing to Bal-
fourism. As to the tariff issue, the fight
on Chamberlainism is not ended, it is
just begun. As to the "Labor Uprising,"
its caliber may be gauged by the caliber
of its numerically strongest exponent,
the Labor Representation Committee,
together with the appearance of John
Burns in the Cabinet—the modern Plebs
Leader, promoted by the modern patri-
otism to the undoing of the modern plebs
masses, the Working Class.

POBEDONOSTSEFFISM.

The world is indeed one city, and the
usurping class one breed. The "Cosmo-
polit" for February has an article
from the pen of Constantine Petrovitch
Pobedonostseff, the Procurator of the
Holy Synod, on "The Delusions of De-
mocracy." The article was written in
Russia and probably in Russian; it
might as well have been written in
English, right here in New York. It is
cast in substantially the same mold in
which the capitalist arguments against
Socialism are cast. The cardinal lines of
the two are identical.

The Procurator of the Holy Synod de-
cries the idea that "democratic institu-
tions are a universally applicable panacea."
—This time has been heard before.
Every time the finger is placed upon a
concrete wrong and the remedy therefor
is pointed out, the Usurper vilifies the
remedy by pronouncing it a "panacea." If
the wrong of the plunder levied upon
Labor by the capitalist is shown and
proven, and it is proven and shown that
the remedy for the evil is the social own-
ership of the machinery of production,
the "private ownership of which enables
the capitalist to confiscate Labor's prod-
uct, immediately the Usurper sets up the
cross between a screech and a wild gulf-
faw: "There is no panacea for the ills
of this world: Socialism will not cure
the whooping cough, and rivalry be-
tween lovers will still lead to jealousy,
and often to tragedies."

The Procurator of the Holy Synod
brushes aside the demands of the Rus-
sian people for the abolition of auto-
cracy with the sapient observation
that happiness can not be insured "at a
moment's notice."—That time also has
a familiar ring. Every time the finger is
placed upon some concrete outrage and
its stoppage is demanded, the Usurper
gives an impatient shrug of the shoulder
—"evolution, not revolution; let's go
slowly and sanely." If the outrages
committed by capitalist autocracy are
pointed out, if, for instance, it is pointed
out that capitalism will and does sacri-
fice the limb and life of the workingman,
tear up his family, destroy his initiative,
crush out his individuality and re-
duce him to an automaton, and the call
is made for the stoppage of the despotism,
immediately the Usurper flies out
of patience and argues that "happiness
can not be insured at a moment's notice."

The Procurator of the Holy Synod oil-
ily indicates that the enjoyment of
freedom is a fruit enjoyable by all who
are fit for it, and that all who are so
fitted prove their fitness by raising "the
pedestal of their own" and "work out
their destiny unaided." It needs no ef-
fort of the imagination to perceive that
the Procurator of the Holy Synod is all
the while pointing at himself as an il-
lustration.—Is that argument, together
with the illustrating, an unknown sound
or sign in America? Every time the
finger is placed upon the fact that eco-
nomic freedom is an impossibility for the
masses under capitalism, immediately
the Usurper points to some Jay Gould,
some Carnegie, now they are pointing to
Marshall Field—to some man with long-
er fangs and sharper beak—and say:
"Thus can all raise their own pedestal,
and work out their own freedom."

Pobedonostseffism is international, like
Capitalism.

ELSASS—THE PHILIPPINES.

The action of Thiers, in ceding Elsass-
Lorraine to Germany in the treaty of
peace between France and Germany in
1871, was used by the Socialists as one
of many instances illustrative of the
fact that the capitalist's "country" is
his pocket, and the capitalist's "patriot-
ism" is but love for his own private
purse, at the expense, if necessary, of
the much gloried-about "fatherland." In
Elsass-Lorraine, Elsass especially, large
and thriving weaving establishments had
sprung up. These competed heavily with
the weaving establishments of the north
of France in the region of Lille. Both
being inside of France no tariff legisla-
tion could come to the aid of the one
against the other. The Lille concerns
cut the throats of the Elsass concerns,
the Elsass concerns did the same for the
Lille concerns. Thiers was one of the
leading stockholders in Lille. The com-
petition of the Elsass mills with those
of Lille reduced the dividends of what
may be termed the Thiers syndicate. The
Franco-Prussian war broke out. When
peace was to be signed, Thiers, the then
virtual head of France and leading figure
in the peace negotiations, readily ac-
ceded to the German demand for the terri-
tory of Elsass. The scene in the French
parliament, when Thiers announced "the
humiliation of 'la France'" through the
cession of territory (Elsass-Lorraine)
was described by the knaves in the se-
cret and the believing dupes as "pa-
thetic." The "venerable Thiers" broke
down "sobbing and tears running down
his cheeks." The Socialists laughed.
They pronounced the tears "crocodile
tears"; they explained Thiers' "break-
ing down" as an evidence of overpower-
ing joy at the thought that thenceforth
the woven goods of Elsass could no longer
compete with the manufactures of

Lille; Elsass, thenceforth a foreign
country, would have to pay duties
at the frontier. The Socialist
explanation of the comedy was
denounced as an evidence of "Socialist
baseness," as an evidence of "the Social-
ist's incapacity to appreciate the lofty
sentiments of patriotism," etc., etc.—
Stick a pin there.

About twenty-five years later, soon
after the beginning of the Spanish-Amer-
ican war, the Republican jingo protec-
tions rose to the lofty heights of our
"Manifest Destiny." The Philippine
Islands had been placed into our hands
"by decree of Providence." Ours was the
duty to protect the Filipinos against the
vultures of the other nations, that, but
for our ownership of the islands, would
swoop down upon and devour those peo-
ple. We were to civilize them. Give
them their independence? Never! That
would be "to betray the trust God had
imposed upon us," it would be to "trail
the country's name and Old Glory in the
mire." Let traitors think of such a thing
—patriots never! Such was the lan-
guage held then; such in even higher
pitch was the language subsequently
held, when we took possession and start-
ed in to civilize the Filipino. Suddenly
a crack is heard in the tune. The Payne
Philippine tariff bill being introduced in
Congress, the jingos split. About 100
Republicans seceded from their party
caucus. The Payne tariff bill proposes
an immediate reduction of the tariff in
favor of Philippine products, and abso-
lute free trade with the islands after
April 11, 1906. This is more than the
patriotism of several interests, the beet
sugar and tobacco interests at their head,
could stand. They fought the bill, and
finding they could not kill it, resort to
the method that the patriot Thiers blaz-
oned the way for. In order to protect
the mills of Lille from the competition
of the Elsass mills, Thiers gladly turned
Elsass into a foreign country. Now, in
order to protect the beet sugar, tobacco
and other interests of the United States,
the one-time Republican jingos—the men
who considered our ownership of the
Philippine Islands a sacred trust, and
who declared the perpetuity of the union
of the islands with the United States
to be inseparable from the honor of Old
Glory—these men now threaten to join
the Democrats and give immediate inde-
pendence to the islands! Rather dis-
member our "Manifest Destiny" if dis-
memberment is necessary to clap a
heavy tariff on Philippine goods; rather
rip up Old Glory if the rent is required
to keep up high prices.

The capitalist has no country but his
pocket, no God but the Dollar, no prin-
ciple but how to make money. The
"loftiness" of his aspirations consists in
false pretence. He will "expand" the
country, or dismember it, just according
as expansion or dismemberment may
pay.

ALL ROUND CRAFTY.

The struggle between the Typothetae
and the Typographical Union, now going
on in this city, is bringing out facts by
the day that should cause the composi-
tors to pause—along with them, the rest
of the workmen, the organized few
and the unorganized many.

One of these facts is the circular issued
by John A. Hill, president of the Hill
Publishing Company and prominent
member of the Typothetae. Mr. Hill's
circular is addressed to his former em-
ployees, now on strike, and also to the
men and women who took, or may take,
the strikers' places. Nicholas of Russia
would give much if he were gifted with
half the fiber of Hill. There is an ideal
Tsaric ring in Hill's pronouncement. So
speaks the master "by the grace of God."
"Thus I will," says Hill, at least he says
as much; "it is for you to obey; if you
do, well and good, and I shall be pleased
to be your Providence; if you don't
anathema!" Now, who is John A. Hill?
What schooling did he have? John A.
Hill is still an honorary member of the
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,
the schooling through which the gentle-
man was strained has been the pure and
simple or craft Union.

The other fact is furnished by Mr.
Isaac Marcusson, also of the Typothetae.
Speaking for his organization, and argu-
ing that its victory is assured the gentle-
man said: "We now have trained men
traveling in the West and recruiting ex-
pert printers who will be shipped to New
York."

The Typographical Union now at war
with the Typothetae must feel very
much in the plight of Aesop's eagle,
when it saw itself wounded by an arrow
feathered with a feather plucked from
its own pinions. Craft Unionism is the
mold in which "Big Six" is cast. Craft
Unionism is a caricature of capitalism.
Craft Unionism trains its membership
in the belief that Labor can deal with
Capital as Capital deals with the buyer
of its goods. Craft Unionism fosters the
bourgeois spirit of everyone for himself,
the devil take the hindmost. Craft Uni-
onism ruptures the Working Class into
autonomous organizations. Craft Uni-
onism fosters the capitalist myth that suc-
cess is the reward of thrift, and it cul-

tivates the notion with the capitalist
methods of false pretense: as capitalism
cloaks its misdeeds with the pretense of
purity, sanctity and "the people," so does
craft Unionism cloak its wrongfulness
with the pretense of lofty aims and the
false allegation that it represents the
Working Class. Expert printers, kept
out of the Union in the West, gathering
to take the strikers' places in New York,
fetched hither by railroad craft Unions,
and an honorable member of the Brother-
hood of Locomotive Engineers superin-
tending the job for the Typothetae—such
is the all round "crafty" spectacle pre-
sented by the clapperclaw in the book
and job trade in this city.

JUST GIVE'M ROPE.

The State of Alabama, that is, the
Democratic-Capitalist interests of the
State of Alabama, glories in the posses-
sion of a Representative in Congress by
the name of Oscar W. Underwood. As
most Southern office-holders, Mr. Un-
derwood is a florid orator; as all cap-
italist politicians, the gentleman dotes
upon the workingman with a doubtful
craft that knows no bounds. These two
qualities combined—oratory and devotion
to the Working Class—produced, through
the windpipe and mouth of the said Un-
derwood, a remarkable oration at a re-
cent sitting of Congress.

The House being in Committee of the
Whole on the state of the Union, and
having under consideration the resolu-
tion for the distribution of the Presi-
dent's message, Mr. Underwood tackled
the subject of immigration. Mr. Un-
derwood tore and fumed against the
"pauper labor of Europe" in general. The
flood of immigration, during the previous
four or five generations, he declared in
well-rounded periods, had built up the
country. But former immigration and
present immigration he pronounced to be
as different as black is from white.
Former immigrations, thus ran his ar-
gument, raised the American standard,
present immigration tore it down—by
the Almighty, the thing had to stop!
Of course, the orator must not be ex-
pected to spoil his rhetorical flights by
the acquisition of the knowledge that
would interfere with the freedom of his
imagination. Mr. Underwood did not sup-
press, we feel certain, he simply is ig-
norant of the fact that the "flood of
immigration" into this country soon af-
ter the American capitalist class freed
itself from the feudal trammels of the
British Crown, did not raise, but actual-
ly lowered the "American standard."

What was the "American standard" at
the time of the Independence? It was the
standard of individual well-being. With
natural opportunities unbounded and the
tools of production simple, individual
well-being was assured. However poor
the American youth started, if he was
at all industrious he eventually reached
a competence, set up his plain yet inde-
pendent home, and reared a family
around him. The apprentice and serv-
ing maid of yesterday became the inde-
pendent householder of to-morrow. That
was the "standard." It was the stand-
ard of incipient capitalism. But cap-
italism, once started, develops along the
lines that are in it. The prospect, actual
not imaginary, of the apprentice and
subaltern becoming himself a master, in-
terferes with the development of the
capitalist. The workingman must be shut
out from all actual prospect of deliver-
ance, however useful it be to hold out
to him the lure of imaginary deliverance.
In short, for its development, capitalism
needs the proletariat. America did not
originally supply the demand. The supply
was imported. It consisted in the floods
of European proletarians—a mass of hu-
manity that started so handicapped in
a new country that but few of them
could help themselves to the natural op-
portunities, and most of whom remain-
ed helpless. Capitalism then "bounced
forward," and the "American standard,"
so called, tumbled down. In dragging
down the standard not only the hand-
capped European proletariat remained
down, down also tumbled the former
American in rags. Only those who were
favored by special luck or cursed with
stronger beaks and talons held their
own and soared upward into the full-
fledged capitalist. That much for the
"American standard." Of course, Mr.
Underwood is too much of an orator to
know anything about such historic de-
velopment. And thus he soared from
flight of rhetoric to flight of rhetoric
praising—in the name of the work-
ingman, be it remembered—the former im-
migrations, and cursing—in the interest
of American labor, be it remembered—the
present immigration. But, in the
midst of his towering flight the Under-
wood owl was by another owl moused
at, and brought down.

Another Representative, Joseph A.
Goulden of New York, whose special cap-
italist interests happen to call for more
and more immigrants, and who, know-
ing well the soul of his fellow cap-
italist politicians, took no stock in Mr. Un-
derwood's protestations that he was fired
only by love and affection for the work-
ingman, fired a succession of neat bolts
at the soaring Underwoodian bird. The
bolts were a series of questions; these

wormed out of our pro-Labor orator the
admission that "the great agitation
among the farmers of the South is TO
CUT DOWN THE AMOUNT OF ACRE-
AGE" and thereby "TO KEEP UP THE
PRICE OF COTTON," and this consum-
mation Mr. Underwood declared could
not be reached if American-standard low-
ering immigration were to be allowed to
come in; such immigration, he con-
tended, "WOULD ONLY INCREASE
THE AMOUNT OF THE CROP!" In
other words an increase of wealth is a
calamity! It would lower the price of
the crops of the farmer! It was for the
farmer that Underwood rhetorized—the
devil take the workingman, for all that
he and his set care.

Just give the "friends of Labor" rope.
They will invariably hang themselves—
and one another.

Brooklyn—Christian Brooklyn—is very
much wrought up. The Rev. Dr.
Charles T. Baylis and the Bushwick
Avenue Congregational Church have
parted company. And thereby hangs a
tale. The Rev. Dr., according to news-
paper reports, tried to give a practical
rendering to the doctrine of the brother-
hood of man within his church. He ad-
mitted to his congregation, on a footing
of equality with all its members, a lot
of circus-tent converts who possessed
abundant spiritual, but very little ma-
terial, wealth. A howl thereupon smote
the religious atmosphere. The majority
of the members objected; vigorously and
successfully objected they. The Rev. Dr.
retorted with equal vigor and what he
lacked in success he made up in the pic-
turesqueness of his language. Says he:
"That congregation" (observe the deep
vibrant sympathy expressed in this loving
phrase), "is the aristocracy of poverty,
something much nobler than the aris-
tocracy of wealth. They are middle class
and poor people, but the way they ex-
amine the financial standing of a candi-
date for membership is enough to sicken
one. I've had a committee hold up a list
of candidates and ask how much money
the persons could bring into the church."

Now that's bad; it's worse; for, for
brutal candor, and absence of refined,
spiritual tact, it's revolting. But what
is the Christian church here for, if not
to buttress up and advance the material
interests of its members? And how can
it perform its duties properly if a lot of
old Testament doctrines containing a
smattering of communism are to be per-
mitted to sway its destinies? Rocke-
feller will certainly not give money,
tainted, or other wise, to such a church;
nor will the middle class attach them-
selves to it on the same principle that
they join a lodge, give a "blow-out," or
put a new front in their stores, that is,
in order to gain more prestige and busi-
ness; nor will the poor—the deluded
poor with aspirations of becoming mid-
dle classers and Rockefeller—seek to
bask in the sunshine of such an institu-
tion. A Christian church run on a
basis suggestive of true communism is a
menace to capitalism, no matter whether
the latter is wholly or partially developed,
or but a latent aspiration awaiting its
opportunity to burst forth. The mistake
is the Rev. Dr. Baylis'. He should, in
true, orthodox style, have organized a
branch of his church somewhere, called
it a "mission" and placed his circus-tent
converts therein. His congregation
could then look down on the latter with
the air of patrons; "the brotherhood of
man" would then have been proclaimed
in true capitalist-Christian style, and so-
ciety would have been saved once more.
As it is, there's hell to pay in Brooklyn
—Christian Brooklyn.

"Printers' Ink" for Jan. 17, contains
a long special article by Jas. H. Collins,
entitled: "The Week Before Christmas."
The article is "a compilation of depart-
ment store advertising in New York
City, Brooklyn, and the suburbs." The
article concludes thusly: "When it is
realized that, in a single busy week,
the daily and Sunday papers of Greater
New York received 1,800 columns of ad-
vertising from 23 department stores, or
265 newspaper pages, it is easy to see
how great is the temptation to appoint
quorum agents, and grant underground
commissions, and move heaven and earth
to get some of the enormous business
that this means in a year." It is easy
not only to see how great this tempta-
tion is, but also how great is the tempta-
tion to say: nothing unfavorable of the
bad labor conditions in these department
stores, for fear of losing "the enormous
business that this means in a year." Mr.
Collins might have added this observa-
tion also. Perhaps, as an advertising
writer he felt constrained to confine him-
self to that side of the subject exclusi-
vely; leaving to the bona-fide organs of
labor the task of making it clear, which
is herewith cheerfully done. The free-
dom of the press is a humbug when ad-
vertising patronage is concerned.

Do the men who claim that the work-
ing class is prosperous, reckon in the
large number of deaths and accidents
reported from Pittsburgh and elsewhere?
The working class is certainly rich, in
this respect.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—There was
a Socialist Labor Party meeting the
other day that should damn you Social-
ists forever in the eyes of the workers
of this country.

UNCLE SAM—Did it fire bombs?
B. J.—No; it favored the importation
of pauper labor.

U. S.—You are mistaken; what it did
was denounce the anti-immigration howl.

B. J.—What is the difference?
U. S.—A good deal. This anti-immigra-
tion howl is a fraud on the people.

B. J.—Do you call it a fraud on the
people to relieve the labor market?
U. S.—That would not be a fraud; but
to make believe one wants to relieve the
labor market, and in that way gain the
confidence of those in whose interest it
is that the labor market be relieved, and
armed with their confidence acquire power
to overstock the labor market still more
—that is the fraud.

B. J.—In what way is anti-immigra-
tion all that?
U. S.—The labor market is overstocked
to the compositors; did immigration
do that?

B. J.—No; typesetting machines did it.
U. S.—The labor market is overstocked
to the cigarmakers; did immigration
do that?

B. J.—No; the numerous machines did
it.
U. S.—The labor market is overstocked
to the weavers; did immigration do
that?

B. J.—Why, no; the steam and auto-
matic looms did it.
U. S.—And so we may go through the
whole string of the nation's industries.
Machinery, born in this country, over-
stocks the labor market much more by
displacement than immigration does.
Now, anti-immigration laws cannot, in
the very nature of the thing, be en-
forced, and their violation is hard to de-
tect; on the other hand, the injury done
to labor by privately owned machinery
could be remedied by the popular own-
ership of it. When a pickpocket wants
to rifle your right side pocket he tips
your hat on the left; he thereby throws
you off your guard on the right and has
free play. These anti-immigration howls
are of that nature. In the first place,
it sounds plausible to impute the hard-
ships of labor solely to immigration; in
the second place, the way to save all the
good there is in the machine, and at the
same time prevent its ravages among
the workers, is not so clear. It is, there-
fore, the veriest imitation of the pick-
pocket's trick to beat the alarm against
immigration. By doing that, even if im-
migration were wholly stopped capitalist
exploitation would continue unabated
through the displacement of labor by
the machine. The capitalist would have
engaged the attention of the workers
with a question that amounts to nothing,
and would thereby draw their attention
away from the real issue. Don't you see
the fraud?

B. J.—But doesn't immigration do
some harm? Won't you take a half loaf
rather than nothing?
U. S.—I would take a quarter of a
loaf rather than nothing; but I refuse
to accept two lumps of stone as large
as a loaf each, and called loaves for a
loaf of bread. Who are the people who
bring in the immigration? Is it the work-
ers?

B. J.—No; the capitalists.
U. S.—That being so, just think how
they try to fool you with a stone that
they call "half a loaf!" These very cap-
italists who want the immigrants are to
be the ones to keep them out! They
want the whole loaf of genuine bread
that consists in your ballot, and they
promise to give you a law which, ac-
cording to yourself, it is in their interest
not to enforce! You are a fool and they
know it, and that's why they keep on
with their tricks to trick you out of your
ballot.

B. J. (looks crestfallen).
U. S.—Not the foreign laborer is the
enemy you should guard against; that
enemy is the capitalist class. The work-
ers of all lands are your brothers. Vote
the capitalist class down and out.

The New York Labor News Company
is the literary agency of the Socialist
Labor Party and publishes nothing but
sound Socialist literature.

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

ONE SECTION'S MANY-SIDED ACTIVITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—At the last business meeting of Section Vancouver, S. L. P., British Columbia, I was instructed to order 500 copies of the Weekly People containing E. V. Debs' New York I. W. W. speech; also 100 copies of the pamphlet by De Leon, "The Preamble of the I. W. W." We think literature is one of the best means of introducing the I. W. W.

We are holding outdoor meetings when weather permits. We are also creating a fund to aid the social revolution in Russia, and collected \$8.00 in one evening. The comrades realize the necessity of assisting others when in need. We may need help sometime ourselves, for all of us, if we don't die a premature death, expect to be in the revolution here.

We are, in addition to the above, holding Sunday evening educational meetings. Last Sunday we again took up "Value, Price and Profit," and compared it with the theories expounded by E. T. Kingley in his paper, the "Clarion." These theories are the theories of Citizen Weston, and are, of course, as false.

I take this opportunity of thanking the comrades for sending me the Daily People I advertised for. I am fairly flooded with copies of that issue.

Yours in unity, Bert Surges.
Vancouver, B. C., January 5.

THE WAY TO DO IT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having been elected agent for The People by Section Bridgeport, I intend to stir up all the subscribers, old and new, who have the interest of the working class at heart. Each reader will be asked to get one subscriber, which will not be hard for them to do, and I shall make it clear that it is a duty for them to do it. Our comrades should make it a point to get acquainted with all readers and enlist them for as much work as possible.

E. Pryor.
Bridgeport, Conn., January 11.

ON THE LIMIT OF DISCUSSION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Since I have not heretofore availed myself of the privilege of your correspondence column, may I not now ask space for a word which seems timely? The rights of minorities and the tyranny of majorities has ever been a favorite theme with the Socialist. Indeed, we are so in the habit of standing alone, battling for our precious opinions, that it seems never to have occurred to us that perhaps there might be a "limit" to the rights of the former. This luminous thought was suggested by a perusal of Corregan's "Warning," which was published on Friday last.

While I doubt not the comrade's earnestness, his integrity or fitness, I seriously question the expediency or justice of giving publicity to all of his doubts and fears concerning the future of the I. W. W. at this time. If a definite program is offered or a single constructive suggestion made by all means give them the widest publicity, but if our time and energy is to be spent in academic discussion or calamity howling I submit that the columns of the Weekly People is hardly the forum for mental gymnastics of this kind. Nor does it seem to me that this position is an intolerant one, a due respect having already been shown for opinions strangely out of accord with those of the vast majority of the party membership. To continue the publication of similar articles would seem to infringe on the rights of the majority. (Never having been a member of any union, I ought to be considered impartial.)

Mr. Editor, the I. W. W. train has already started, is gaining in velocity daily, if there are broken bridges, dangerous grades, etc., ahead, hadn't we not better spend our time making necessary repairs and improvements, and not dissipate our energy sending up sky-rockets or exploding torpedoes?

Frank E. Coddington.
Brooklyn, January 14.

THE MILWAUKEE CIGAR MAKERS' LOCAL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—For the benefit of The People readers I wish to explain a few points concerning the cigar makers whom I recently organized in this city. I have learned, to my disgust, and our assailant's shame, that the pure and simple, as well as some of our own unthinking members, are raising a cry that the employees organized in the I. W. W. cigar makers' local here are not enjoying conditions as the use of our local requires or,

in other words, are not receiving adequate compensation.

It should be obvious to all who are not afflicted with an adamant brain, that it takes some time to adjust a machine before it is in running order, and before the adjustment takes place the basis must be right and if that is wrong all other work is wasted energy. Consequently, I can safely say that the Cigar-Makers' Local 219, of the I. W. W., has started from correct premises and all other adjustments will follow along the same lines, conditions and compensations as well.

I can see the snake of racial prejudice wending its way through this treacherous howl. There are a number of Jews who have become members of this organization and locally speaking I have been called to task for accepting their applications. Well the objections are simple to comment upon; for, according to our constitution and principles there is room enough in our organization for all, regardless of race, color or creed.

A committee of five met last Sunday, January 7, and decided upon a rate that will be submitted to the local this Thursday evening, January 11, for action; then to the G. E. B. for ratification. After this has been accomplished and agreed to by the employer, then I want to know what will be the next objection raised by the unsophisticated ignoramus?

Fraternally,
R. T. Sims.
Milwaukee, Wis., January 11.

GROWTH IN CINCINNATI.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Although the membership of Section Cincinnati was always clear on the principles of Socialism, it was very much handicapped by the lack of numbers. Any revolutionary organization which unfurls its banner in this city, the city which has so aptly been termed the very "Hell of Capitalism," has great odds to fight against, but when that organization is small, it requires unceasing toil and the greatest enthusiasm to hold out. Like the "Old Guard" our Section did not surrender, and it is a great satisfaction to be able to report now that our staunch comrades have been reinforced by about fifty men in the last year and a half.

We began the new year by opening up spacious headquarters at 1339 Walnut street. Experience taught us that nothing facilitates the work of agitation as much as permanent headquarters. Altogether the outlook for the coming year is promising, and with the election of the following officers for the ensuing term we hope for great success in spreading the principles of Socialism among our fellow workers:

Organizer, Max Eisenberg; financial secretary, Fred Steinbach; recording secretary, Katie Eisenberg; agent for The People, Robert Thuman; Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, Fred Steinbach; Der Arbeiter agent, Paul Paulsen; grievance committee, Wm. Henke, A. Reueberg, A. Voliver; trustees, Fred Steinbach, Paul Paulsen, Max Eisenberg; auditors, Anton Ortuer and Wm. Henke.

Fraternally,
Press Committee.
Cincinnati, O., January 16.

THE PENNSY'S "MESSAGE OF THANKS."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find "a message of thanks" that was posted, along with some tyrannical orders, from the big boss, in the Altoona shop of the Pennsylvania Railroad system. It seems as though the wage slaves need lots of thanks for their faithfulness to the P. R. R., as that will feed them until the next suspension of work, which is most due. They were all expecting a ten per cent. increase on the first of the year. They got it where the wage slaves who depend on capitalist generosity generally get it—where the chicken got the axe—in the neck.

One of the Wage Slaves.
Altoona, Pa., January 17.

(Enclosure.)
Altoona, Pa., Jan. 2, 1906.

Mr. Foreman,
Dear Sir:—

The copy of message given below from the General Manager was received in this office late on the afternoon of December 30:

"At this, the close of the present year, I desire to express to the officers and employees, my appreciation of their loyalty and energy, as through their earnest and faithful services we have been able to complete one of the most successful years in our history. You can readily understand, therefore, that it is with more than the usual pleasure that

I desire to extend to you and your families my best wishes for a very happy and prosperous new year."

Yours truly,
W. F. Eberle,
General Foreman.
Please post this on your bulletin board.

"ORGANIZING" THE WORKING CLASS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—If I remember rightly it was Benjamin Hanford who stated recently that the American Federation of Labor is slowly but surely organizing the working class upon the economic field—or something to that effect, in other words. The enclosed clipping from "Men's Wear" of January 10, 1906, goes a great way towards confirming the veracity of his statement.

But aside from the injury inflicted upon the straw hat makers, these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class have the arrogance to even insult their own membership by setting aside their decision upon the preposterous claim that they "were not well enough acquainted with the matter in all its bearings at the time the vote was taken." And yet there are some who believe in "boring from within," and, furthermore, have the impudence to call themselves Socialists.

Long live the Industrial Workers of the World! Hats off to those who have striven to bring it into existence.

A. Orange.
New York, January 14.

[Enclosure.]

THE STRAW HATTERS' UNION.

The question of admitting the Straw Hatters' Union to membership in the United Hatters of North America has not yet been decided, for although a referendum resulted in two-thirds of the U. H. of N. A. indicating their willingness to admit the straw hatters, the officers of the U. H. of N. A. hold that the members were not well enough acquainted with the matter in all its bearings at the time the vote was taken, and have postponed final action until another vote can be had, and this can hardly be before another year.

NEW AND OLD TRADES UNIONISM CONTRASTED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having read with much interest the various communications and editorials, in both the Weekly People and the official organs of the A. F. of L., the latter standing for the dividing craft system, and the former (the I. W. W.) for its abolition, I feel it my duty (and I must say it is not a painful duty) as a member of the I. W. W. to express my opinion upon the present controversy between the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. and the situation as it now stands. In the outset I wish to state that the position taken by the I. W. W. is commended by all true and loyal union men, wherever they may reside, and in whatever Industrial Department they may have cast their lot; the position assumed by the (A. F. of L.) practice of craft unions and a certain element of leaders, "grafters," are without parallel in the history of labor organizations; yea, even in the annals of the history of our great republic.

Ever since creation's natal dawn, ever since the morning stars first sang together, liberty has been the watchword of every creature of Adam's fallen race. Liberty, how precious to the heart of every true American! For liberty our forefathers fell at Bunker Hill, Monmouth and Yorktown, in the War of 1812 confirmed the freedom of their infant nation, and in 1846 marched across the burning sands of Mexico and planted the Star Spangled banner on the castles of the city of Montezuma. Ask the emigrant, fresh from the Emerald Isle, or the Russian serf, fleeing from the galling yoke of monarchical government, why he has left the green field and sunlit hills of his native country, and he answers that he may enjoy free speech, free thought and free action.

It is bad at any job to get a swelled head, so come down off your perch and think you are only one member of the great army of workmen, and not the whole of it, come let us reason one with another, so that when our life's work is ended we can lie down in peace and our spirit go to God, who gave it, and it may be said the world has been made the better for our having lived in it.

Yours in the revolution,
L. J. Trujillo.
Salt Lake City, Utah, January 14.

WHAT THE PRINTERS PROPOSED AND WHAT IS BEING DONE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In regard to a communication which was recently published in The People, and which I heartily endorse, I would like to state, as a member of No. 6 (Typographical Union No. 6) that the members are as yet unable to get any information in regard to the situation in the strike. The officers have been censured by the press and public for the stand they have taken in regard to ap-

pealing to other organizations for assistance as they had laid claim to the fact that No. 6 could win the strike alone. At the meeting of the Methodist Conference, held to-day, they appealed to the clergymen of that denomination to affect a settlement with their printing concern. Now, it seems, that the clergymen, having delegates seated at the C. F. U. meeting last Sunday, would not have to resort to such means because if these clergymen were "union men," a settlement could have been effected long before this, as the concern is owned and run by ministers.

There has been much comment in regard to that famous forty-eight hour agreement, as the official battle cry of the I. T. U. for the past year has been: "We propose to sell to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four and we will do with the remaining sixteen as we please," but in New York it should read: "We will let the employer do as he pleases, as now he can work us as long as he likes."

Hoping you will give this correspondence space, I remain,
Another Member of "Big Six."
New York, January 19.

AS TO THE I. W. W.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Chicago convention met in response to a revolutionary call, it adopted a revolutionary program, it placed the labor movement on higher ground, consequently the view presented was clear and it was impossible that a pure and simple union could have been the result as Comrade Corregan fears.

The "no affiliation" clause was proper and in its place. I was one of those opposed to the clause prior to the convention. But in the light of the convention I could see no reason to oppose it. I could only have made myself ridiculous. We said to the convention: the S. L. P. is the shadow, the reflex of the true working class economic movement. We did what we could. We showed the I. W. W. the model and we were ready to show up the bogus if occasion had demanded it.

There can be no question now as to which shall dominate the labor movement, the political wing or the economic. The functions of each are clearly outlined. The economic body must take up and develop the administrative function of government. The political body must seize the political function and relegate it to the dead past.

We shall have use for the administrative function of government as long as Socialism shall endure. We have only use for the political function in the final act of the capitalist state; the changing of private property to social property. I believe that all who can properly join the I. W. W. should do so, keeping a weather eye on the politicians who may try to deflect its course.

Theo. Bernine.
Indianapolis, Ind., January 15.

CLASSES—ECONOMIC AND CRIMINAL.

(Copy.)
Dayton, O., Jan. 17, 1906.

Editor Dayton Daily News,
Dayton, Ohio,

Dear Sir:—Some time since I took occasion to reply to your editorial statement that there were no classes in this country. Of course, I understood at the time that you meant hereditary classes, that is, a ruling or master class that dated its economic power to rob the working or slave class back to an ancestry of robber barons of the feudal times; but that was merely begging the question on your part. So far as its effects on the working or slave class is concerned, the length of the pedigree of the class that is on its back cuts no figure whatever. That our own capitalist class possesses the economic power through its ownership of the government and of the means of production, that is, the land and the tools, to rob the producing or slave class and that it exercises that power to the limit, you would not have the hardihood to deny for a minute to anyone capable of adding two and two together and thereby ascertaining that they made four, who had the facts before him.

That the capitalist class is a cold blooded criminal class, you have only to read the news column of the Dayton Daily News to find out. The petty crimes committed by members of the working class are always inspired by necessity or by passion, while the colossal crimes of the capitalist class, not merely members of it, but of the whole class, from Rockefeller down to the nastiest shyster attorney at the Dayton Bar, are inspired by the lust for gain and power and debauchery.

As the editor of the Dayton Daily News, which, in common with all papers of its class, is engaged in the delectable task of moulding public opinion in favor of its masters, the capitalist class, the McCalls, the Depews, the whole malodorous outfit, part of which was recently "investigated" in New York, and another part of which is being "investigated" in Missouri, and still an-

other part of which is to be "investigated" in Panama and so on ad infinitum and ad nauseum to such an extent even that the Dayton Daily News even wants to "investigate" our own little dirty capitalist politicians occasionally, you will doubtless be pleased to read the speech of Eugene V. Debs delivered lately before the revolutionists of New York city upon the subject of classes in the United States and the disposition that we are preparing to make of them.

Yours for the revolution,
Walter Smith.
I take pleasure in handing you herewith Mr. Debs' speech in full.

J. J. MURPHY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—J. J. Murphy, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, died on January 15, at the residence of G. Popper, 446 West One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street, of hemorrhage. Murphy was born in New York City, May 6, 1865. He began his life of wage slavery in a printing establishment when fourteen years of age. He continued at this occupation until ten years ago, when his health, which was never too good, having inherited an enfeebled constitution from his father, a painter, compelled a change. He left the chapel master for a railroad one, becoming first a conductor, later a transfer agent. But alas one master was as merciless as the other; for, where he had expected to improve his physical condition it became worse; so much so, that for the past five years he had not been able to average more than eight months' work a year. Long hours of exposure in the most inclement weather only tended to still further enfeeble his already delicate constitution.

It was Saturday, January 8, however, that brought on the climax; Murphy being compelled to work from three p. m., on that date, until two a. m., the next, and begin again at six a. m. Sunday. The weather, being very bad, told on him to such an extent that, although working on through sheer will power until the following Thursday, he was compelled to succumb that day, the hemorrhage attacking him then. As already noted he struggled on, however, until last Tuesday, when he expired.

The death of Comrade J. J. Murphy recalls one of the purest and noblest of characters. His lack of selfishness was most striking. He was ever ready, despite his own great needs, to help with his mite any person in distress, especially one in sympathy with our cause, which was dear to him. His was one of those natures whom, Emerson says, work in the dark and succor those that never knew them. Scorning praise and compliments for his generous acts, he went his way unperturbed.

Owing to his physical feebleness, however, Murphy was not able to take an active part in advancing the cause he loved so well; but the rigidity of his moral conduct, coupled with his keen perception of the class struggle in all its phases, and his living up to it, made him a most valuable man to our cause.

In his last hours he discussed the prospects of success for the proletarian revolution of Russia, and was very much comforted by the assurances of victory. The social revolution has lost a good man in the death of J. J. Murphy.

J. Plamondon.
New York, January 16.

SECTION OFFICERS.

I.
Section Milwaukee in general session elected the following officers for the ensuing term of six months: Organizer, Herman Loewe; treasurer, J. Vierthaler; English press agent, R. T. Sims; German press agent, R. Babnick and E. Benfat; librarian, H. Baier; trustees, E. Wegner, J. Vierthaler, and M. Temmer; auditing committee, A. Schnabel, Sr., Charles Kler, J. Dobrodenka; literary agent, A. Schnabel, Jr.

We are lined up for the fray. I shall endeavor to give an account of myself in the way of getting new and renewed subscribers for the Daily and Weekly People.

Fraternally submitted,
R. T. Sims.

II.

At the regular meeting held on January 10, 1906, Section Hartford, S. L. P., elected its officers as follows: Organizer, Aug. A. Rein; recording secretary, Frank Knoteck; treasurer of Section, Fred Fellerman; financial secretary, Jas. Kumpitsch; sergeant-at-arms, James Williams; English literary agent, L. Newhouse; German literary agent, Joe Rossmel.

HELP THIS ALONG.

Data is wanted on corporation methods in securing franchises, including evidences of bribery, collusion, evasion of taxes, stealings, etc. Newspaper clippings especially desirable. Kindly send such information to F. J. Boyle, Mailing Division, Boston P. O., Mass.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. L. F. IMPERIAL, CAL.—The attitude of the S. L. P. upon Chinese and all other immigration is the following: If the U. S. were to-day a Socialist Republic, China would not be what she is. In that event neither would the Chinese come to America, nor would the U. S. care to exclude them. The question would have solved itself.

To-day, however, the land being under capitalism, all immigration tends to still more overstock the labor-market and thereby lower the standard of living. The S. L. P., accordingly would prefer to see no immigration.

At the same time, an anti-immigration attitude does, to-day, more harm than good. Such an attitude cannot be struck without lining up with the capitalist policy of keeping the races divided; and it cannot be pursued without assistance from the capitalist Government. Fatal steps, both of them, to the Working Class. The capitalist wants immigrants. To ask the capitalist to keep the immigrant out is an absurd position for Labor to take.

On the question of immigration together with its kindred question of racial purity, etc., the attitude of the S. L. P. is persistent fight against capitalism. That overthrown, the rest is done.

J. W., MT. CARMEL, ILL.—Turn not yourself into food for capitalist cannon. The total insurance graft for all time has not been one-fifth of the graft of the protected industries. And the graft of both combined is like a drop in the ocean of the graft of the capitalist class upon the working class. The last alone concerns the worker.

R. L. T., HOLYOKE, MASS.—The workingman has now little enough to live on. Not even the consumption of that is enough to keep him in good health. To reduce that little still more through life insurance is to buy a dram of mental comfort for the future with a pound of present trouble.

W. V., NEW YORK.—Gompers stated editorially in his "Federationist" that Wall Street money supported The People. The stupidity of the lie does not cleanse it of its blackguardism.

D. P. W., TRENTON, N. J.—It would be an interesting list, but we have no time to keep the record closely. The latest instance of the malfeasances that result from the private ownership of the press is that the Volkszeitung Corporation allowed its "Worker's" mailing list to be used for the circulation of the scurrilous and exploded A. F. of L. cap-masters' circular against the I. W. W.—What are you going to do about it?

T. B., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—How you talk! Diplomacy! If by diplomacy is meant double-facedness, then diplomacy is wrong. But that is not necessarily diplomacy. Every sane man uses diplomacy every day. If you are on the fifth story of a house and want to go on the street, you don't take the direct route and jump down out of the window. You go out on the hall, down the winding stairs, and reach the street that way. Diplomacy, proper, means the steering of one's course by the facts.

T. E., DALLAS, TEX.—The mill will never grind again with the water that has passed. No danger. The Kangaroo vilifications of the Socialist Labor Party will turn no further wheels.

M. F., ALLEGHENY, PA.—Be careful not to be duped. When the capitalist says he makes only one per cent. on his capital, he means his capitalization. "Capital" means the money actually invested; "capitalization" is fictitious capital, generally watered stock. The more his capitalization is inflated the smaller does his profit appear to be.

If he invested \$10,000 and makes ten per cent., his profit would be \$1,000. If he watered his stock to \$20,000 then he would say his \$1,000 profit is only five per cent.; if he watered his stock to \$100,000 then he would say his \$1,000 profit is only one per cent. These gentlemen have more twists and turns than the hunted fox. They can never be taken at their word.

J. G. D., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—The man who will refuse to read Marx's works because Hearst's "American Almanac" ranks Marx among the "pioneers of Anarchy"—such a man will have to be churned over again. Such a man would be silly enough to refuse to eat a beefsteak if some one were to tell him the beefsteak was a rampant crocodile.

J. R., LAKE CHARLES, LA.—The essential difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. is that the S. P. imagines that Socialist political triumph can be encompassed without the proper economic organization; the S. L. P. holds the contrary view. An immediate result of these opposing views is that the S. P. claims neutrality on the Union Question

and practically upholds the A. F. of L. craft Unions, while the S. L. P. disowns neutrality, and upholds the I. W. W. A further difference, closely akin to this, is that the S. P. press is the private property of incorporators, who run it for profit and irresponsible to the party, while the S. L. P. press is owned and operated by the Party itself.

B. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.—First—The list of the S. L. P. press, in English and in foreign languages is published periodically in these columns.

Second—Communicate with I. W. W. headquarters, 148 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., for Spanish literature.

F. T. J., CHICAGO, ILL.—In point of EDUCATION? The S. L. P. press imparts that, the Hearst press imparts none. In point of RAISING HELL and plowing up the field generally? The Hearst press is far ahead of the S. L. P. press. In point of political SUCCESS? Hearst is no more successful than the S. L. P. A miss is as good as a mile.

F. O'M., COLUMBUS, O.—The People has received quite a number of loans from a large number of S. L. P. men. This indebtedness does not take The People out of the Party ownership and control. No doubt some of these S. L. P. creditors may some day "become crooks and seek to dictate the paper's policy under the threat to demand their money." No doubt. That is not a danger peculiar to party ownership of the press. Private ownership is equally exposed to such a contingency. In the instance of Party-ownership, however, the whole Party, knowing that its press is its own, will rush to the rescue of its paper, which means, of itself; and being in possession, it has the facility, or inside track to do so. This very thing happened in 1902. Such a collection of crooks and would-be bosses sought to capture The People or smash it, if they failed. They failed in both respects. The demand, pressure and law suits for moneys loaned and otherwise alleged to be due them was used as the weapon of attack—just as you suppose might happen. The Party rushed to the rescue. The assault was parried off until the funds were raised from the Party itself.

The loans, etc., which the rule or ruin plotters demanded back, were paid to them, and the S. L. P. retained its own—a grand manifestation of that heroism that only democracy and organization, in this instance, Party-ownership of its press, is capable of rising to. In the instance of privately owned papers, such intrigues, if successful, would only pass the paper from one private domination to another; if unsuccessful, would leave the paper in the original private hands—private ownership, which means press despotism, in either case.

F. S., CINCINNATI, O.—First—The universal label of the I. W. W. is of use even now, before any industry is fully organized. When an industry is fully organized, the universal label continues of use as a protection to that industry itself against capitalist chicanery, and as information to those outside of the industry. For the rest, see the article: "The Clash for Light."

U. S. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The fact that "deposits" is not the same as "depositors," and that one and the same depositor may make as many deposits as there are savings banks in the country, was alluded to quite clearly in the article "Prosperity and Savings Banks." We are not aware, however, that there are any statistical sources from which to ascertain the number of "depositors" themselves. If you know of any, should be glad to be informed.

S. L. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The S. L. P. would shrivel up and die with grief if any intrigue could by any possibility have brought about the present situation in the Socialist Movement. The mere thought of an intrigue lying at its bottom deprives the logic of events of its beauty, and any one, who so imagines, of the instruction that the development imparts.

M. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—Make clear to us how a beefsteak can become raw meat again by the process of putting out the fire that cooked it, and you will have made clear to us how the "freeing of the land" will now undo the work of private ownership in natural opportunities, i. e., the production of CAPITAL, and thus free the proletariat of the handicap of proletarianism.

O. E., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Read "The Two Pages from Roman History" (only the first of the two is concerned in the criticism) over again by the light of the two following facts, mentioned in that first of the "Two Pages."

Second—The slavery complication did not become acute until towards the end of the period of the struggle of the

(Continued on page six.)

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

S. L. P. OF CANADA.

National Secretary, 361 Richmond st., London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUBCOMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held at 2-6 New Reade street, Jan. 19, '06, with E. C. Schmidt in the chair. Members present: Eck, Schweneck, Hyman, Moren, Jacobson, Schmidt, Anderson, Coddington, Walsh, Wolf, Teichlauf, Crawford and Olson. Absent: Katz and Fisher.

This being the first session of the new sub-committee appointed by the N. E. C. on January 7, the following elections were held: Recording Secretary, Christian Wolf; Treasurer, Max Hyman; Committee on Party Press and Literature, T. Walsh, C. J. Wolf and A. Moren.

The election of the Committee on Agitation and Organization was left over until the next meeting on February 2.

The financial report showed receipts, \$448.00; expenditures, \$419.10.

Reading of minutes dispensed with. Secretary notified to see former Secretary about minutes of previous meeting.

New members admitted: Schmidt, Schweneck, Wolf, Coddington and Hyman.

Correspondence: St. Louis, Mo., W. W. Cox, I. W. W. getting foothold in spite of opposition. Prospects bright for future. Suggestion of an Emergency Organizer. It was decided to have circular printed and sent to Sections of Middle West and have them report thereon. Portsmouth, Va. From Donald Munro, I. W. W.'s good work, six candidates initiated last meeting and twenty-two applications received; also have a debate on with A. F. of L. He also sends in Resolutions for publication. Pittsburgh, Pa. From Organizer Philip Veal, stating things are moving along and a bright future in sight. Two mass meetings had been arranged, one under auspices of the I. W. W. and one S. L. P. in Old City Hall. Machinists of Bradford were organized by Gillhaus and Markley and a mixed local of the I. W. W. also in view. Gillhaus leaves for Virginia and the South after Jan. 22, '06. From Minnesota State Executive Committee with reference to member of N. Y. C. Request further time which was granted. New Haven, Conn., Jos. Marek, expects big demonstration for Bloody Sunday. Street parades and the largest hall in the city has been procured for mass meeting. The S. L. P. and S. P. are running the affair together. Section Los Angeles, Cal., remits reports of S. E. C. on State agitation fund and General fund also circular on Pacific Coast circuit fund. Reports on Williams' good work. Paterson, N. J., J. Riether, Organizer, asks for information about language branches and formation of a General Committee.

State Committee of Pennsylvania desiring information as to who pays the expenses of tour of Gillhaus and Veal. Section Seattle, Wash., S. Brearcliff, information regarding securing an Organizer for the Northwest. E. St. Louis, Ill., J. A. Jennings, things look bright for Party and three S. P. men have joined the recruiting local of the I. W. W. Lynn, Mass., P. Gallagher, asking for information regarding Sections and State Executive Committees. Passaic Co., N. J., ask for duplicate charter, original lost. Granted.

The following Sections report elections of officers: Hoboken, N. J.; Tacoma, Wash.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Essex County, N. J.; Chicago, Ill.; Hamilton, O.; Cleveland, O.; Onondaga County, N. Y.; Hartford, Conn.; Union County, N. J.; New Bedford, Mass.; St. Paul, Minn., and Syracuse, N. Y.

Christian J. Wolf, Rec. Secy.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Regular meeting held January 14th. All members present except Hartung, Eck, chairman.

Louis Basky of Palisades Park admitted to membership at large by transfer from Hungarian Branch of Section New York.

Committee to tabulate vote on member of N. E. C. reported very light vote polled, and no vote reported by Section North Hudson. The result was French 40, Butterworth 19.

Officers of the committee were instructed to have reports to convention ready for next meeting, and Secretary instructed to send out credentials for delegates elected to State convention.

Correspondence bureau reported on work done, and stated cash on hand January 1st, was \$1.36. Sent lists of names of Weekly People subs about to expire. Lists turned over to Sections to look after renewals.

The appeal of Jules Magnette against action of Section Essex County in expelling him was heard. Magnette objected to Hartung sitting on his appeal.

The comrade was not present. Magnette also objected against Eck, claiming Eck was prejudiced against him. Objection not allowed as Eck was not a party to the proceedings in Section Essex County.

Hokanson and Bateman were present as a committee to represent the Section with Quinlan and Mattick as witnesses. Magnette had called Rapp as witness.

Magnette was expelled for conduct unbecoming a member of the Party and for contempt of Section's Grievance Committee in not appearing before the same. Magnette declared he had been only too willing to meet the Grievance Committee.

After going into the matters at issue the S. E. C. found that the Grievance Committee had held six meetings: Sept. 29, Oct. 11, 13, 22, 27, and Nov. 1. At these Magnette was either, as he claimed, unprepared to go on, absent, or he did not send excuse until the committee had met. To the S. E. C. this conduct of Magnette was deemed rather a desire to hamper the Grievance Committee, than a willingness to meet it.

The S. E. C. decided that on this count alone it could not sustain the appeal of Magnette. The committee did not take into account the charge of slandering a Section—charges completely refuted by that Section; nor the fact that his own Section minute book shows, that by action of the Section, it was noted in the minutes that Magnette in Section meeting had called a comrade, to say the least, improper names. These two counts covered the charge of conduct unbecoming a member.

Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Meeting held in Section Boston's headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, on Wednesday, January 10. Frank Bohmback in the chair. Lombard absent. Minutes of previous meeting were accepted as read.

Communications: From Section Boston, forwarding campaign funds and returning lists. From Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, receipts for settled accounts.

Auditing committee reported on financial report for quarter ending December 31, 1905: Income, \$628.63; Expenditures, \$567.68; Balance on hand January 1, 1906, \$60.95. Secretary instructed to send itemized reports to the Sections and members at large.

Adjournment followed.

Meeting January 10th.

Delegates to the General Committee of 1906 called to order by the secretary. Frank Bohmback elected temporary chairman. Comrades Houtinbrink and Gallagher elected as credential committee reported on the credentials of J. J. Corcoran, F. Bohmback, F. Houtinbrink for Section Boston; A. Mortensen for Section Somerville; T. P. Gallagher for Section Lynn; and A. Reimer as Treasurer. Temporary chairman elected for the ensuing term.

Rules adopted that governed 1905 committee with the election of the following committees: agitation and press, Houtinbrink, Corcoran and Sweeney; auditors, Bohmback, Mortensen and Corcoran; Grievance, Reimer, Gallagher and Bohmback.

Communications: From Sections Worcester and Lawrence, ordering due stamps. From John Kenny of Section Lawrence, requesting a speaker for Jan. 22nd, stating that the S. L. P., the S. P., the German and Jewish benevolent societies and German Socialist Club are all working together for the purpose of holding a mass meeting in the Lawrence City Hall in aid of the Russian Revolutionists with S. L. P. and S. P. speakers. Referred to the agitation committee to comply with.

Voted to meet on the second and fourth Wednesdays in the month.

Adjournment followed.

John Sweeney, Secretary.

55 Temple street, Boston.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday January 20, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

Adolph Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash. \$ 1.00

D. T. Heimlich, Jacksonville, Ill. 1.00

Jacksonville, Ill.—Fred Renc, 25c; L. P. Hoffman, 25c. 50

August Gillhaus, commission on "People" subs for December 1.80

Philip Veal, commission on sale of literature 3.75

Philip Veal, donation 1.00

Paul Sabach, Bridgewater, Mass. 1.00

John Donohue, New York .. 1.00

Theo. Seimer, Stonington, Conn. 1.00

K. Georgewitch, Schenectady, N. Y. 50

J. E. Farrell, North Boy, Ont. 2.70

Max Heyman, New York 2.00

Jacob Schweneck, Jersey City, N. J. 50

Total for the week \$ 17.75

Previously acknowledged \$2187.48

Grand total \$2,205.23

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

OPULENT CALIFORNIA

A GOLDEN STATE FOR CAPITALISTS, BUT NOT FOR PROLETARIAT.

"Advancement" Closed to the Latter There as Elsewhere—Big Capitalist Concerns Control Land—"High Wages" an Illusion—How Some of Them Range.

(Special Correspondence.)

Stockton, Cal., Jan. 13.—It is now two months and a half since I arrived in California for an agitation tour in the interests of the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. In that time I have covered the principal cities and towns of the northern half of the state and have gathered some facts and impressions regarding the situation in this section of the West.

Industrially, California is comparatively undeveloped. In area more than three times as large as New York this state has about one-fifth the population of the Empire State. Nearly one-third of the people of California live in the towns and cities bordering on San Francisco bay. One needs to travel but a few miles toward the interior from San Francisco to note the comparative scarcity of population. Untold mineral and agricultural resources remain unexploited in California.

Nevertheless, all avenues to "advancement" are closed to the proletariat here as elsewhere. Prices of habitable land range from \$30 to \$500 and more per acre, while practically all of the great timber and mining claims are now in the possession of stock companies composed of big capitalists. At Eureka I was informed that a quarter section of red wood timber is valued at from \$40,000 up. Thus the hapless proletarian here as elsewhere is reduced to the necessity of selling his only possession (his labor power) in a greatly overstocked labor market.

Wages are sometimes thought to be comparatively high here in the West. But when cost of living and duration of employment are considered, the illusion of high wages quickly vanishes.

Of all denominations of laborers in California, the agricultural worker is the worst exploited. His hours are longest—from twelve to sixteen—and his average wages do not exceed \$30 and board per month for a total working season of six months in the year. Conditions are also bad among loggers and saw mill workers. The former work twelve hours, averaging \$2.50 a day during a season of about eight months. Mill men nowhere work less than ten hours and get about \$2 a day. Unskilled railroad workers are also badly exploited. In the Southern Pacific shops at Sacramento, where more than 2,000 men are employed, the average wages of "helpers" do not exceed \$1.75 per day. Japanese to a great extent are superceding whites in construction work and on the section, and are getting from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per day. I have not yet had an opportunity to investigate conditions among miners and smelters. A wage slave out of a job in California (and there are several thousand such right at present) is certainly "up against it." Long distances between industrial establishments and the necessity to keep moving in order to avoid the vagrancy laws make the case of the man out of work a desperate one.

However, provision is made for the workers' comfort (?) at cheap boarding houses, where fifteen cent meals and ten cent beds may be obtained. I have noticed that several of the worst of these shacks in different cities bear the suggestive sign: "Workingmen's Home"! The enormous number of lodging houses in the West suggests the tendency of capitalism towards "race suicide." Scores of private residences also show the familiar sign: "Furnished Rooms." In pioneer days such superabundance of "places to eat" and "places to sleep," might be explained by the exigencies of the times, but pioneer days are practically over in California. It is now raw-boned capitalism that separates the sexes and develops "he towns" in the West, which have their well known counterparts in the "she towns" of New England.

Outside of San Francisco, I have seen little evidence of vitality among pure and simple unions. With few exceptions the "job trusts" are in a state of collapse with no immediate or remote prospect of revival. There is a good field for the I. W. W. among the lumber workers of the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountain States. Nearly one hundred thousand men are employed in that industry and only a small percentage are organized. In Humboldt county this state, an A. F. of L. Woodmen and Sawmill Workers' Union claims to have recently organized 1,200 of the 6,700 lumber workers in that locality. While in Eureka in November I visited several of these "organized" lumber camps,

showing up the A. F. of L. and presenting the claims of the I. W. W. I encountered little opposition, and the woodsmen were not slow in expressing their interest for Industrial Unionism, and supplying themselves with the literature I had to offer them. Persistent agitation among these lumber workers should result in the near future in a strong organization of the I. W. W.

In San Francisco the pure and simpler are so elated over their recent victory in the mayoralty election, which resulted in a triumph for Mayor Schmitz and the entire Union Labor ticket, that a movement is now on foot to make a state party out of that concern. W. R. Hearst also is promoting his Public Ownership party in California. Progress toward political unity of the S. L. P. and S. P. on the basis of the I. W. W. is noticeable here in California also. Everywhere the opportunity has afforded itself, I have lent whatever aid I could to the process. Speaking before locals of the S. P. in Eureka, San Francisco, San Jose, and Vallejo, I found in each instance a majority of the rank and file of that party enthusiastic for the I. W. W. While in Oakland, December 17, a local of the I. W. W. was organized with seventy-five members, a majority of whom are S. P. men. Some few of the "leading lights" in the Oakland local of the S. P. are strongly opposed to Industrial Unionism; but their influence is waning with the rank and file. At Sacramento, January 10, I organized a local of the I. W. W. with twenty-three members, nearly all of them connected with the Socialist party. The Hearst "Public Ownership" movement on the one hand and the pure and simple Union Labor party on the other, make all the more imperative a united political party in California, finding its basis in the revolutionary, economic organization of the working class—the I. W. W.

Just a word in closing to the members of the S. L. P. in this section. A move is now well under way to establish a Pacific coast circuit of speakers and organizers, embracing in its scope the three states of Washington, Oregon and California, and the Territory of Arizona. The plan is to keep men in the field constantly to agitate for the S. L. P. and I. W. W. The territory I have covered so far convinces me of the supreme importance of this move. The field is ripe. Large bodies of workmen are ready for our revolutionary propaganda. Spasmodic attempts at agitation and organization are usually unproductive. Continuous and concerted action should be the endeavor from now on. Let every individual member and sympathizer as well as every section of the S. L. P. from Washington to Arizona buckle down to the business of raising funds for this purpose. Don't delay! Act at once!

Fraternally,
B. H. Williams,
National Organizer,
S. L. P. and I. W. W.

LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page five.)
plebs leaders for equal political and social privileges with the patricians.

Second—There could not be, in the days of Rome, any emancipation, proper, of the proletariat. The fact and reasoning are elaborated in full on pages 49-51.

There never can be a strict historic parallel. The important thing in history is to detect resemblances. Points of difference are obvious. Moreover, in social evolution the human agency plays, not a dead, but a living part. The point in that first of the "Two Pages" is missed if we start to look for the numerous differences between then and now. Fact is that the "Labor Leader" is best understood if we understand the "Plebs Leader." If we don't understand the Labor Leader we are in the soup.

"PRINTER." NEW YORK—No anonymous communication is accepted at this office.

J. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. C., LONDON, ENG.; L. H., NEWTON, N. J.; D. O. C., ROANOKE, VA.; G. P. R., SAN JOSE, CAL.; J. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; O. F., COLUMBUS, O.; A. L. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.; B. E., RED WING, MINN.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; A. G., TACOMA, WASH.; A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.; E. K., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; F. C., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; M. K., CHICAGO, ILL.; O. M. J., OAKLAND, CAL.; G. P. R., SAN JOSE, CAL.; R. R., LAMARTINE, COL.; H. F. F., SOUTH MANCHESTER, CONN.; W. E. K., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; B. H. W., STOCKTON, CAL.; J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA; W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—Matter received.

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup.

has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN while TEething, with PERFECT SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES THE PAIN, SOFTENS THE GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN, CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHœa. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," and take no other kind. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS' FUND.

The following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, January 20:

S. Schwartzman, New York ... \$ 1.00

Jerome L. Forrester, Imperial, Cal. 3.00

Robert Clausen, Somers, Mont. 2.00

Adolph Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash. 2.00

D. T. Heimlich, Jacksonville, Ill. 1.00

Collected by Section Essex County, N. J. 6.00

Max A. Goltz, Winona, Minn. 5.00

26th A. D. New York—J. Zimel, \$3; E. Moonelis, \$2; J. Mazanek, \$1; B. Broitman, \$1; J. Simon, \$2; J. Zameknik, \$1; J. Hruby, \$1; Ch. Potuzak, \$1; E. Voska, \$1; J. A. Pulpit, \$2; J. Martinek, 25c; Fr. Ruzicka, 25c; J. Tausick, 10c. 15.60

Geo. Signarovitz, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.00

Omaha, Neb.—R. S., \$1; Friend, \$1; F. R., 50c; A. B., 50c. ... 3.00

L. Rosenthal, Kingston, N. Y. 2.00

John J. Leahy, New York 2.00

34th A. D. New York, day's wages by Theo. Swenson, \$3; Henry Hoepker, \$1; Thos. Edgington, \$2 6.00

August Gillhaus, day's wages .. 2.00

Philip Veal, day's wages 2.00

Chas. Scurlough, Idaho Falls, Ida. 50

Elbert Archibald, Columbia, Cal. 2.00

David S. Law, Center Barnstead, N. H. 25

E. Anderson Cambridgeport, Mass. 1.50

Brantfort, Ont.—Henkle Bros., \$1; A. Rosenfeld, 50c; M. Moldaver, 50c; M. Gilchik, 50c; L. Lazarus, 50c; M. Wood, 25c. 3.25

Chas. Brenner, Biloxi, Miss., day's wages 1.50

Monessen, Pa.—Cyril Sisteck, \$1; Frank Sisteck, 25c. 1.25

Member of 12th A. D., N. Y. Collected at "Der Arbeiter" benefit, Grand Theatre, N. Y. 45.47

John Donohue, New York 1.00

August Gleiforst, Brooklyn, N. Y. 50

E. S. Erikson, Independence, Minn. 5.00

Martin Henryson, Blackduck, Minn. 1.00

Max Eisenberg, Cincinnati, Ohio 5.00

Chas. H. Tobin, No. Attleboro, Mass. 1.00

Branch of Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Hoboken, N. J. 25.00

F. C. Surber, Auburn, N. Y. 50

J. R. Fraser, Dayton, Ohio 3.00

Wm. J. Daniels, New York 1.00

J. E. Farrell, North Boy, Ont. 1.00

Minneapolis, Minn.—J. Nielson, \$1; Tom Dougherty, \$1 2.00

New York—T. D., \$2; A. Moren, \$3 5.00

Max Heyman, New York 3.00

Lewis Bama, New York 2.00

Collected by "H." Local 67, I. W. W., Jersey City, N. J. 3.25

J. H., Jersey City, N. J. 2.00

M. Swenson and Sons, N. Y. 5.00

Collected by Scand. Section New York, day's wages for Birger Knutson, \$3; C. J. Bjorklund, \$2.50; A. H. Lyzell, \$2; A. Olson, \$2 9.50

So. Norwalk, Conn., per E. Singewald—Rappa, 50c; F. Howard, 50c; A. Danke, 50c; Geo. Sherwood, 50c; Anton Stenger, 50c; G. M., 50c; Myggatt, 25c; Wm. Wicke, 25c; Carl Schaub, 50c; A. Megargee, 25c; F. Selby, 25c; R. Rossman, 25c; B. Lane, 50c; Geo. Singer, 50c; M. Lubrano, 50c; Albino Varner, 50c; Frank Merriam, 50c. (E. Singewald, last week \$1, contained in the total of \$9.75 then given but omitted in the enumeration), total this week 7.25

Total for the week \$194.32

Previously acknowledged \$602.49

Grand total \$796.81

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

You did somewhat better on subscriptions last week, but didn't reach the average needed to add 2,000 names to the list during January. At this writing you are about 1,400 short. Comrade Kortum, of St. Louis, writes that "it ought to be possible for every comrade to get at least one new reader a week." He says "get out now, and hustle for the paper of the cause for which you have so long fought, and over whose banners victory is even now hovering."

For the week ending January 19th we received 273 subscriptions to the Weekly People and 20 mail subscriptions to the Daily, a total of 303.

Prepaid postal cards sold: G. A. Jennings, E. St. Louis, Ill., \$6; Frank Rapp,

SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open

Newark, \$5; M. E. Ruther, Holyoke, Mass., \$4.50.

We certainly had a rush of bundle orders for the issue of the Weekly People January 20th, containing Eugene V. Debs' speech. The orders ran all the way from 5 copies to one of 15,000 copies, ordered by the Mill and Smeltermen's Union of Butte, Mont. The special bundle orders on the issue foot up 55,685 copies. On that you did a good piece of work.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Another rush week. Preamble Address: W. Wulbeck, Cincinnati, O., 250; L. Newhouse, Hartford, Conn., 100; Wm. Yates, New Bedford, Conn., 100; F. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 100; B. Surges, Vancouver, B. C., 100; H. L. Borini, San Francisco, Cal., 200; Section Essex County, N. J., 100; R. Murphy, Lynn, Mass., 200; P. Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y., 100; J. Ball, Buffalo, N. Y., fifty; Gus Hurwath, Detroit, Mich., fifty.

Assorted pamphlets: August Gillhaus, Pittsburg, Pa., \$4.55; C. H. Duncan, Spokane, Wash., \$5; Chas. Rogers, Kansas City, Mo., \$4.25; D. L. Munro, Portsmouth, Va., \$2.25; E. J. Auburn, Auburn, N. Y., \$1.08; G. N. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1.88; H. L. Borini, San Francisco, Cal., \$3; Thirty-fourth A. D., New York, \$1.08; E. MacDonald, Connell, Wash., seventy-five cents; Twenty-eighth A. D., New York, sixty cents.

Books: Geo. T. Craniton, Denver, Colo., eleven Sue books and three Woman; M. A. Goltz, Winona, Minn., one Ancient Society and one History of Civilization; H. L. Borini, San Francisco, Cal., two Woman and two Value, Price and Profit, cloth; J. Billow, Chicago, Ill., one Woman; W. Lohrentz, South Bend, Wash., one Sue story; J. W. Johnson, Minneapolis, \$2.69 books and literature; J. C. Falconer, Beloit, Wis., \$2.81 books and literature; F. Kucera, Winston, Mont., one Capital; W. J. Scott, Los Palomas, N. M., four books; E. Gabriel, New York, \$10 worth books.

P. Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y., 2,000 leaflets; J. M. Reid, Toronto, Ont., 1,000.

Besides these there were many small orders, showing good individual activity.

Give us more rush weeks. That's what we are here for.

THE PITTSBURG CONVENTION